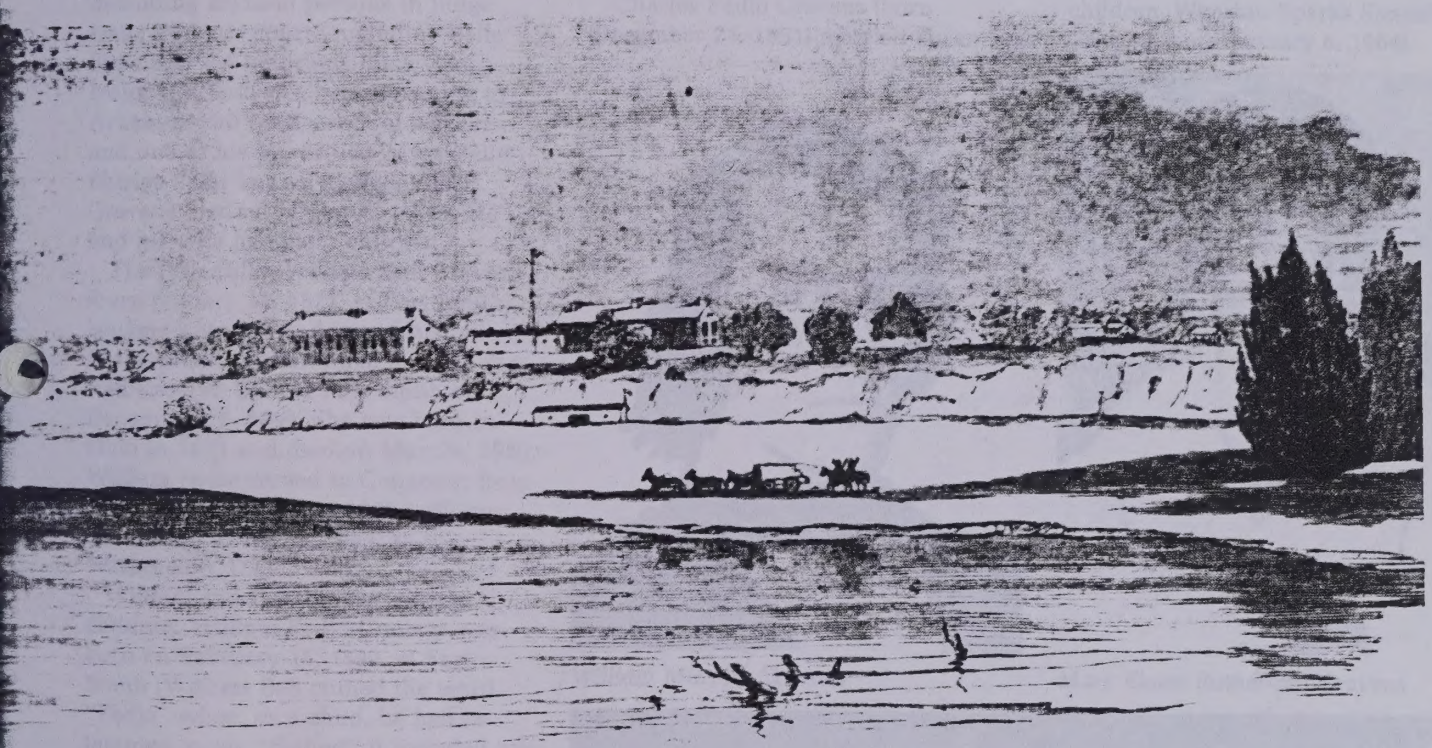
Fort Smith

An Illustrated History

by

Odie B. Faulk and Billy Mac Jones



Senior Editor: Fadjo Cravens, Jr.

Business Biographies by Juanita Freeman

Photographs by Paul F. Lambert and Ron Dalton

CRAVENS FAMILY

William Murphy Cravens (born June 26, 1833, at Fredericktown, Missouri) came to Arkansas College at Fayetteville and there met a young lady at the female seminary, Mary Eloise Rutherford. She was the daughter of Samuel Morton Rutherford, the first representative to the Arkansas Legislature from Sebastian County in 1851 and its first county judge. Rutherford was born March 31, 1797, and died on April 1, 1867.

Confederate Lieutenant William Murphy Cravens and Mary Eloise were married on April 8, 1862. Cravens in 1866 (or 1867) was licensed to practice law; he specialized in criminal law, defending accused persons in Judge Isaac Parker's court—including Belle Starr and the notorious Buck Gang. Ironically, Cravens, before coming to Arkansas had been a school teacher, and one of his pupils was Myra Belle Shirley (later known as Belle Starr). Cravens died on January 2, 1919. He and his wife had eight children.

The fifth child, William Ben Cravens (born January 17, 1872, at Fort Smith), became a lawyer and joined his father in the practice of criminal law. He married Carolyn Dyal at Fort Smith on December 19, 1894. She was born in Ohio in 1872 and died on May 24, 1950. William twice served in Congress: from 1907 to 1913 and from 1933 until his death on January 13, 1939, at Washington, D.C.

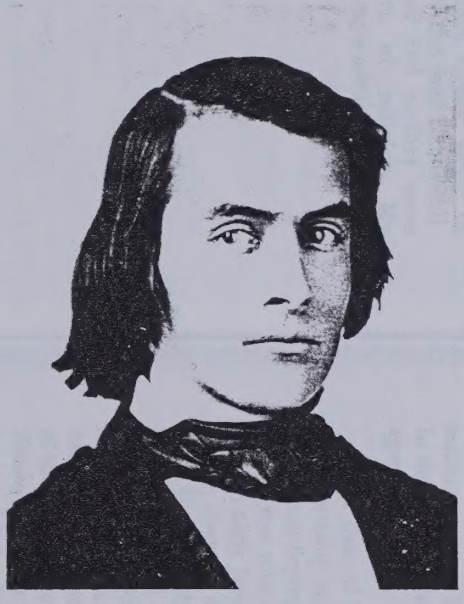
William and Carolyn had two children. William Fadjo Cravens was born on February 15, 1899, at Fort Smith (William Ben coined the word "Fadjo" when, as a child, he had attempted to say "Father"; it sounded like "Fadjo," and when his son was born he gave him that name). William Fadjo graduated from Washington and Lee Law School, then joined his father in the practice of law. When his father died, he was elected to Congress in a special election to fill the unexpired term and served there until he resigned in 1949.

On February 16, 1926, William Fadjo married Elizabeth Bliss Echols, daughter of William Joseph Echols, II, and Fannie Johnson Sandels Echols. Their two children, William Fadjo Cravens, Jr. (born January 28, 1929), and Katherine Elizabeth Cravens (born November 17, 1936), were both born in and still reside at Fort Smith.

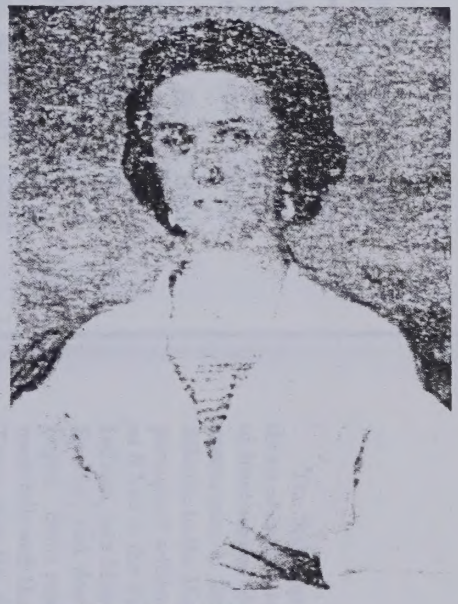
William Ben Cravens' second child is Nancy Ellen Cravens (born on August 12, 1900). She married William Martin Eads on January 1, 1921, and they reside in Fort Smith.

William Fadjo Cravens, Jr., entered the banking profession in 1952. Previously at the University of Arkansas, he had met Kate Sparks Bemis of Prescott, Arkansas. They were married at Prescott on December 22, 1950. Kate born on February 19, 1930, is the daughter of Thomas McRae and Lillie Carr Pittman Bemis. Fadjo, who recently retired as vice president of Merchants National Bank, and Kate have six children:

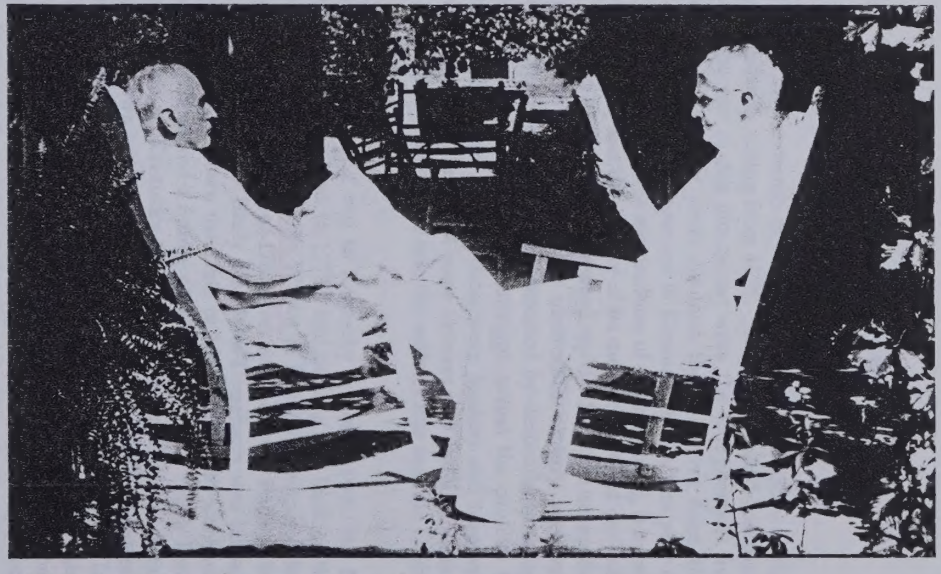
Charles Fadjo Cravens (born December 21, 1951) married Susan Lee Moffatt at Sprindale, Arkansas, on August 6, 1977. Thomas Rutherford Cravens (born April 14, 1953) married Pamela West on September 18, 1982, his adopted daughter, Jessica, was born on December 13, 1979. William Bennett Cravens (born November 5, 1956) married Sammye Dee Norvell on May 23, 1981. David Anthony Cravens (born October 31, 1959) married Lorraine Jean Chagollan on April 25, 1981, at Glendale, California; they are parents of twin daughters, Kate Lorraine and Jennie Micaela, born on February 10, 1982 at Glendale. John Bemis Cravens (born September 19, 1960) is enrolled in college, as is the youngest of the Cravens' children, Wharton Sparks Sandels Cravens (born January 8, 1964).



William Murphy Cravens



Mary Eloise Rutherford Cravens



William and Mary Cravens in their later years.

written by Charles Dorsey is appended by the Editor:

My father and mother, Charles and Lydia Dorsey, were born and raised in the State of Maryland. They were distantly related. My mother's maiden name was Lydia Dorsey. My father's mother's maiden name was Todd. My mother's mother's maiden name was Griffith.

My father was raised by his brother in a wholesale and retail house in the city of Baltimore before the Revolution. After marrying he settled on a farm in Frederick County, and lived there until 1787, when he with his family moved to Kentucky. Many years prior to his removal, he became surety for his brother, and was rich, but being unfortunate at sea and was pressed for a large amount, which swept his property away he came poor to Kentucky.

There were seven children. My oldest brother, Greenberry, married Sarah Hobbs before he left Maryland.

My father settled three miles from Bardstown, remained there seven years, then bought a farm on Simpson Creek.

Beal married Nancy Stylor. Richard married Sarah Ferguson. Lydia married Allen May. Sallie married Edmund Cotton. I (Charles) married Nancy Stephens. Froney married Thomas Basye.

Mother departed this life about 96 years of age, after my father moved to Simpson Creek, prior to the marriage of the last three children. My father and mother were both professors of religion. My mother was always admired for her piety.

THE DOUGHERTYS OF KENTUCKY

WILLIAM C. STEWART

The first important step in the march of the settler to the Pacific was the thrust of emigration into Kentucky dating from 1775. Among the small company of frontiersmen always in the van of this movement were the Doughertys;[1] five generations in little more than seventy years spanned the continent from the Atlantic to the West Coast. The family appeared in Kentucky in the first year of permanent settlement, helped to evolve the new culture of the spreading frontier, as it had in the Valley of Virginia, and then many of its members moved on: Into Indiana, into Missouri Territory and so, ever westward, up the Missouri across the Rockies, and down the Columbia, all before the nineteenth century was well begun. Some remained in Kentucky, and are represented by descendants today; most followed the moving frontier, down the Mississippi, across the prairies to Texas, over the deserts to California. Among them were hunters and trappers, traders, soldiers, lawyers, legislators, but most were farmers and Indian fighters. In the fifth generation from Atlantic tidewater was the nation's first notable Indian agent.

The date of John Dougherty's first trip to Kentucky is not known, but he was exercising his talent for locating land in 1775,[2] and after a trip back to the settlements beyond Clinch Mountain with John Wilson of Harrod's company that winter, was entering land along the waters of Dix River and near the Falls of the Ohio in early January of 1776.[3] It is not likely that John Dougherty was himself among Harrod's company returning down the Ohio in March, 1775, to what was to be Harrodsburg, for he had land and a family on Laurel Creek of North Holston, on the road from Virginia to Kentucky through Cumberland Gap. John's brother Henry was the first known settler so far into the wilderness on the waters of North Holston,[4] and John may have made an unrecorded visit through the Gap before 1775; if not, he heard of the wonderfully fertile soil and abundant game of the Kentucky country from neighboring Long Hunters, and from Daniel Boone. Boone is seen in Virginia in the fall of 1774, carrying a letter concerning John's brother Michael, and a late newspaper, from Major Arthur Campbell to Colonel William Preston.[5]

The Dougherty family had started westward shortly after January 25, 1737/8, when Michael Dougherty (I), storekeeper of "Newlondon Derry", Chester County, Pennsylvania, established himself in Borden's Great Grant in what is now Rockbridge County, Virginia, at the headwaters of Cedar and Mill and Broad Creeks of the James River.[6] This Michael, progenitor of the Dougherty family branch that first reached Kentucky, may have been related to the Thomas Dougherty who arrived at New Castle, Delaware, December 10, 1727, with John Caldwell. and lived in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, before going to Virginia,

eventually to help establish the Presbyterian Cub Creek settlement, "key that unlocked the floodgates to unlimited emigration from Pennsylvania and Ireland."[7] Thomas Dougherty's descendants reached Kentucky, too, but by other roads.

Mill creek is a branch of Poague's Run, and Michael's neighbors included Robert Poague, Erwin Patterson, John Maxwell, George Wilson, James McGavock, James Gilmore, James Crow, James Spratt, Robert McAfee, the Thompsons, Sallings, Walkers, McDowells and others who were to be represented in the migrations up the Valley and into Kentucky. Michael was in Capt. John Buchanan's militia company, listed for the first and last time as O'Docherty, in 1742.[8] He was appointed constable in 1747[9] and through the 1740s and 1750s he and his sons continued accumulating land in the Forks of the James. Incursions by the Indians were not uncommon. Three of the Dougherty boys are listed in the militia in 1756 and Michael was paid for furnishing provisions.[10] One of the boys, Charles, was killed in the 1763 raid by Cornstalk's braves; and that year Michael (I) also died, aged more than 61. His estate was appraised November 16, 1763 by Joseph Culton, John McKee, John Gilmore and William Edmonston.[11]

The family began to break up after that, some remaining for a time on the James River farms, others moving South and West into the wilderness. Michael's son Michael (II) was at the Reed Creek settlement in what is now Wythe County, Virginia, in 1763, with the Bedford County militia to help James Davies and two or three other families menaced by the Indian raids of that terrible year.[12] Some time between then and 1768, Michael acquired a considerable acreage at Boiling Springs, adjacent to Fort Chiswell and the Great Road and Graham's Forge. His old neighbor on the James, James McGavock, purchased Fort Chiswell property in 1768 and Robert Graham eventually acquired the Boiling Springs property.

The family of Michael (II) included the eldest son, Henry and his wife, Jane; William, who was involved in a debt with Arthur Campbell and Colonel Henry Pauling[13] and who died in the summer of 1773;[14] John and his wife Isabelle (possibly Allen or Patton); Joseph and his wife, Elizabeth Drake, widow of William Sayers; Michael (III), who was wounded at the Battle of Whitsell's Mills March 6, 1781, and died at the Reed Creek farm in 1787; Robert; George; a daughter who married Robert Dennison; and perhaps a son, James; and a daughter who married an Allen. Mary Dougherty, wife of Capt. James Patton, one of the founders of Louisville, appears to have been a daughter or a niece of Michael (II). Of the latter's sons, John, Henry, Robert, George and Joseph all in time migrated to Kentucky.

Emigrants who crossed Ingles Ferry over New River reached the edge of the wilderness at Fort Chiswell, but the country began to fill up rapidly in the late 1760s and explorations were pushed into the country farther South and West.

The Long Hunters, men from the New River Valley, from the Rockbridge County area and from North Carolina, left "Reedy Creek of New River" in June, 1769 to explore the Kentucky Country. Among them were Abraham Bledsoe, Joseph Drake and Robert Crockett,[15] of families neighbors to the Doughertys on Reed Creek; Anthony Bledsoe counted the tithables along Laurel Creek of North Holston and Maiden Springs, in the area of what is now Tazewell County, Virginia, where Henry and John Dougherty began farming at this period. They were in Arthur Campbell's militia company in 1772. George Dougherty was between the headwaters of Reed Creek and Stalnaker's; Michael (II) paid five tithes on Reed Creek in 1772.[16]

Michal's son Henry, who was born prior to 1742, was in the New River country as early as 1766,[17] and probably in 1770 acquired land on Laurel Creek of North Holston. His brother John, who was born in 1743, either went with him or had joined him by 1773.[18]

Fincastle County court May 3, 1774, was a busy day for the Doughertys. Michael (II) who had been appointed Constable for the Reed Creek vicinity the previous year, marketed some 1500 pounds of hemp, and his son John went into court to prove that part of his left ear had been bitten off in an affray. The grand jury, numbering among its members Benjamin Logan, soon to be a neighbor of John Dougherty in Lincoln County, Kentucky, indicted Isaac Spratt for this act, but also presented John Dougherty for unlawfully quarreling.[19] The Spratts and Doughertys had been neighbors on the James River and were again in Southwest Virginia. Perhaps the quarrel concerned the purchase of some land by George Dougherty from the Spratts, which had taken place about this time. Judge Lewis Preston Summers, writing of the incident in his history of Southwest Virginia, was puzzled why John wanted a court record of his loss of part of the ear. Such procedure, not unknown in Virginia and in Pennsylvania, was so that one might have proof that the ear had not been cropped as punishment by a court order.

As the summer of 1774 came on, Indian threats multiplied. On July 4, 1774, Colonel William Christian wrote Colonel Preston that "people on New River up to the mouth of Reed Creek . . . are gone and going today to Fort at Bells' Meadows".[20] The threats were not idle, for on August 11, James Robertson wrote Colonel Preston that the Indians were harassing the frontier. Difficulty was experienced in raising men for outpost duty. George Dougherty and Isaac Spratt were at Upper Station, (with no further record of personal difficulty).[21] Michael Dougherty (III) was appointed ensign to raise a party from Captain Walter Crockett's miiltia company but he could obtain the services of only six or seven men. A large number could not be raised, John Montgomery on October 2 wrote to Colonel Preston, "unless men were to Leave their wives and children exposed

to the Mercy of the Enemy, which we in reason cannot Expect—Mr. Dougherty is still willing to serve." Montgomery hinted that greater authority than he or Michael possessed would be necessary to recruit men "Most part of which" already had been out on the campaign.[22] Eleven days later, Major Arthur Campbell wrote Colonel Preston that some of the men drafted by Michael had gone to a safer fort at Herbert's, rather than the front duty, "as an excuse. It seems Micl is in the right, certainly there is no need yet for Men at that place, his party is only seven and himself which I have sent to Reedy Creek to assist as Guards in carrying out flour to Clinch." This note is the one carried to Preston by Daniel Boone, with Campbell's recommendation that Boone be given a commission in the militia.[23]

A few days earlier, on October 6, Campbell wrote Preston that Henry and John Dougherty had moved their families "this side of the mountain" from Laurel Creek of North Holston, "disagreeing with ye Majority of ye Inhabitants, as to the place to build a Fort". Andrew Lamme had been captured by the Indians; and his family and the wives of Vance and Fowler, neighbors of the Doughertys, had come to Rich Valley, on the East side of the mountains. Other settlers were pouring in from the little cabins in the wilderness. Major Campbell had his hands full and his temper was growing a little short. He had turned down the plea of "Paddy Brown, an old Weaver Body, that lives with one of the Doughertys" who wanted to be sent out as a spy, and who had annoyed Campbell by delaying the delivery of a letter. "Most of the people in this country seem to have a private plan of their own, for their own particular defense," Campbell concluded.[24]

Shortly after February 7, 1775,[25] John Dougherty appears to have left Virginia for the Kentucky country, and Henry followed him permanently within three years, returning to Virginia only to settle the estate of his father, Michael (II) who died in 1782.[26] Robert Preston, surveyor of Washington County, Virginia, acquired Henry's land on Laurel Creek. Henry lived in Mercer County, Kentucky, and Jane having died, he was married to Katherine French, perhaps the widow of John French, May 21, 1792. By 1797, Henry lived in Shelby County and when the Gallatin County line was drawn the following year, it ran two miles north of his farm on the road from Shelbyville to the mouth of the Kentucky River.[27] He is last found in the records, in Henry County, Kentucky, in 1800.

John Dougherty, son of Michael (II), emerges as the leader of the family in this period. He had served during 1774 in the Fincastle County militia, including a chore of delivering horses prior to the Battle of Point Pleasant,[28] and he took a leading part in the affairs of Kentucky County and when it was formed, Lincoln County. He is mentioned in a number of depositions concerning the period from 1775 to 1795.[29] He and John Wilson settled at the "Locust Thicket" near Danville in January, 1776, and in March they made a journey to the Falls of the Ohio, in company with Jospeh Frazer and others "to see the country and make improvements and Entrys." John Dougherty entered land on Goose Creek, near the future site of Louisville, for his brother Joseph. Wilson, who testified years later in a land dispute between John Dougherty and Isaac Hite concerning the Goose Creek land's boundary line and indicated John had raised a crop of corn at "Locust Thicket" in 1775. It is unlikely, however, that John brought his family from Laurel Creek until about 1778, perhaps at the time Henry, his brother, moved to Kentucky. In the meantime, John was acquiring large tracts of land South of Danville.

Dougherty Station was one and one-half miles below Danville on a branch of Clark's Run then known as Dougherty's Creek but now as Balls Branch, and near the Wilderness Trace. John Dougherty owned several thousand acres and he and William Crow were engaged for more than twenty years in a lawsuit involving overlapping claims to a small portion of the tract. Other close neighbors were George Clark, Stephen Fisher, William Logan, Archibald McNeil, James Gilmore and Michael Horine. John built his house upon a slight eminence about two hundred yards from the confluence of Dougherty's Creek and Clark's Run, and it was visible from the Trace.[30] Although John's brother Robert lived in this vicinity for several years, Thomas Speed was in error when he wrote in "The Political Club, Danville Kentucky, 1786-1790" that Robert founded Dougherty's Station. Numerous land suits and other records show clearly that John Dougherty was the first of his family to settle in Kentucky. The ledgers of Henderson's Transylvania Company show that John Dougherty opened an account on April 20, 1776. Captain Nathaniel Hart, Jr., was equally in error when, in his interview with the Rev. John Shane, he said that John Dougherty lived and died near Danville.[31] As will appear, John moved to Jefferson County, Ky., in the early 1790s, and in time, to Indiana, where he died. John Wilson, William Frazer, William Whitley and Nathaniel Randolph opened accounts the same day, probably shortly after Dougherty and Wilson returned from their March journey to the Falls of the Ohio.

Because the records of Kentucky County are missing, little is known of Dougherty's activities until 1780, but William Crow, in a deposition, said he left in 1776 to live in a fort, and that Dougherty remained on the disputed land. Many besides Crow remained away during this period of Indian attacks. Dougherty's near neighbor Archibald McNeil was killed by the Indians in 1777, and Crow helped appraise his estate the following year.[32] The Givens family came in 1778 and at least one of the boys was in Captain John Dougherty's militia company.[33] John appeared in the Virginia Commissioners' land court at Harrodsburg on October 27, 1779, again in November, and again on February 15 and 16,

1780. It has been impossible to determine conclusively whether John was the John Dougherty who helped Captain John Patton built Fort Nelson at the Falls of the Ohio, and whether Dougherty's wife Isabelle was James Patton's sister Isabelle.[34] James Allen, father of Colonel John Allen, emigrated from the James River in the fall of 1780 and settled at Dougherty's Station, with Joseph Davies, father of Colonel Joseph Hamilton Davies, until, "becoming impatient of the confinement of the station, moved further down the creek and built a small station".[35] Since only one house is known to have been on Dougherty's land, it may be supposed they were living with him, thus the "confinement". James Allen had a daughter Isabelle, born April 20, 1746, and baptised May 20, 1746;[36] perhaps she was the wife of John Dougherty. A Doherty Allen is found at that period in the area of Virginia from which the Doughertys came.

In the latter part of April, 1779, Colonel John Bowman, county lieutenant of Kentucky County, determined upon an expedition against the Shawnees and the Chillicothe town on the Little Miami River for the following month. The list of those taking part has not been found, but there is some reason to believe both John and his brother Robert Dougherty participated as members of Captain Benjamin Logan's company. Captain John Dougherty did serve under Logan, second in command to General George Rogers Clark in the July, 1780 expedition across the Ohio.[37] With the organization of Lincoln County militia Captain Dougherty of Kentucky County was reappointed Captain with John Miller as his constable.[38] George Givens was in Dougherty's company guarding Fort McAfee before George's discharge in July, 1781 following two months service. [39] At least two John Doughertys served under Clark and it is difficult at times to be certain which individual is meant in some of the Clark records. However, a rations receipt for August 25, 1781, and Captain John Dougherty's payroll for Lincoln County militia "on actual service in repelling an Invasion of the Enimy Indians on an Expedition Against the Enimy under Genrl. Geo. R. Clark" have survived.[40] The payroll covered the period October 24 to November 24, 1782 and was for service on Clark's expedition following the Blue Licks disaster. With Captain John were his brothers Robert and George, James Brown as lieutenant, and both George and Robert Givens—in all forty-two men in the company. The Indians never gave Kentucky any trouble of consequence after this expedition, and the number of settlers increased rapidly. Most of the land around Dougherty's Station was being farmed and in 1783, a grist mill was built nearby on Dougherty's Creek by William Thompson.

Captain Dougherty continued purchasing land in the Hanging Fork of Dix River area, but evidently as early as the winter of 1784/5, he determined to move to Jefferson County. On March 2, 1785, he surveyed 1000 acres on Goose Creek, adjoining the land he had marked and improved for his brother Joseph in 1776.[41]

Money was "scace", Caleb Wallace wrote Mr. Madison in June, and "Disputes for Land numerous". The inclement spring had been "succeeded by a long Drought," but the rye, wheat and corn crops were promising.[42] The scarcity of money doubtless explains why Robert Dougherty and James Brown had not paid for their purchase of Indian plunder sold following one of the expeditions across the Ohio, and had to be reminded by the county court, in July. Captain John was acting as a land locator and was involved in several land deals with Jacob Myers, the "industrious Dutchman" in whose name was entered such vast quantities of land in Kentucky. The sons of Captain John and Isabelle were growing up and perhaps the family felt the Danville area was becoming too crowded. In 1786, Captain John began selling his land at an average of more than a pound an acre.[43] On the tax list of 1787 John paid two tithables, had two slaves, twenty-five horses and twenty-three cattle. Robert moved to what is now Jessamine county, and in 1788 entered, with Myers, a huge tract on the Cumberland River.[44] Robert sold his Lincoln County land in 1789. Captain John acquired 1600 acres on Mill Creek in what is now Trimble County and surveyed it on January 17, 1789. He now had 4000 acres in the Jefferson County area.

On June 19, 1790, the records show 1500 acres were surveyed for him on the middle fork of Pitman Creek of Green River, then in Nelson but now in Green County,[45] the land adjoining that of James Dozier and John Boss. Captain John sent his son, Michael, about 20, and son George, who was 17, with James McCullough and Burrell Jackson to make the survey. In a deposition on February 22, 1805, in a suit by Captain John against McCullough and others, Michael said that after the survey was completed, he "gave up the bond as I was not very well acquainted with the nature of the business [—a long dispute dating from 1781—] and found when I returned home that I had very much displeased my father in so doing."[46] Perhaps the unpleasantness of this incident was responsible for Michael's returning to Nelson County to live and marry later in the summer of 1790.

Captain John is variously referred to as of Lincoln and of Jefferson County in deeds of the succeeding two or three years, but he and Isabelle and the younger children were living on Goose Creek near Louisville by the end of 1793, and Michael moved up from Nelson County and acquired land in Henry County, now Trimble County, on Dougherty's Creek of the Little Kentucky River, where he was to remain until his death in 1830. On March 12, 1795, Naomi, probably Captain John's daughter, was married to Thomas Motley, with Michael Dougherty on the marriage bond. John's daughter Eleanor was married to Charles Beasley on July 19, 1798. By 1800, most of the family was concentrated in Jefferson or Henry Counties, including Captain John's brothers, Henry, Joseph and George,

3. Joseph Dougherty, was born in now Rockbridge County, Va., in early 1740s, married Elizabeth Drake, widow of William Sayers in now Wythe County, Va., November 15, 1781. Was in Kentucky by 1787. He lived in Fayette and Shelby Counties, Ky., and was alive in 1830. Joseph and Elizabeth had children: Margaret, married Burton Mullikin before May 14, 1807; Eleanor, married William Dougherty in Jessamine County, Ky., August 31, 1805; Martha, married Jacob Sodowsky, probably in Jessamine County, before May 14, 1807; Ann, married Shepherd Gum before 1801; Joseph, married Martha White in Shelby County, Ky., December 27, 1817; perhaps Robert, married Sallie Butler in Jessamine County, September 10, 1805; and possibly John and Arthur.

4. William, died in Virginia before July 6, 1773.

5. Michael, married Sarah ———, died in Virginia before November 6, 1787; had son Michael who died in Barren County, 1856, and probably son Robert who died there by 1822 and son William, who died in Fayette County, Ky., in 1833.

6. George, was in Kentucky 1782, served in Lincoln County militia lived in Jefferson County during the 1790s and was in Henry County in 1800.

7. Robert, served in Lincoln County militia in 1782, and probably was there at least two years earlier, moved to Barren County, Ky., and was dead by 1822.

8. ———, who married Robert Dennison and lived in Southwest Virginia.

9. Perhaps daughter who married ——— Allen of Rockbridge County, Va.

10. Perhaps Mary, who married Capt. James Patton of now Rockbridge County, Va., by 1769, and died in Louisville in 1787.

11. Perhaps James.

NOTES

1 The name Dougherty also is spelled Daugherty, Doherty, Daughetee, Docherty, Doghity, Daughity, Dohity, Dogherty, O'Docharty and in various other ways, but all trace back to Dochartach of the Province of Ulster, Ireland. The name was occasionally spelled Doughty or Dowty in Kentucky but usually this spelling indicates English rather than Irish derivation. It is not unusual to find the name spelled as many as three ways in one Kentucky document.

2 Lewis Collins, History of Kentucky, vol. 2, pg. 519.

3 John Wilson, deposition, Nelson County, Ky., Circuit Court, October 7, 1794.

4 Lyman Chalkley, Gates of the Wilderness Road, Virginia Magazine of History, vol. 30, pg. 201.

5 Draper Mss., Wisconsin State Historical Society, 3 QQ 123.

6 Court Judgments, File 393, Augusta County, Va.; and Surveyor's Book 1, pg. 5; and Deed Book 4, pg. 104 et sec.

7 Dr. Howard McKnight Wilson, The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom, pg. 42, referring to the permission for settlement in the back parts of Virginia, given by Governor Gooch in response to request by the Donegal Presbytery of Pennyslvania, instigated by John Caldwell April 11, 1738. The Cub Creek settlement was later than estimated by its historian, not until 1740 at the earliest and probably not until 1742, a conclusion separately arrived at by Dr. Wilson and the author.

8 F. B. Kegley, Virginia Frontier, pg. 141.

9 Order Book 1, pg. 251, Augusta County, Va.

10 Court Martial Book 2, August 1756, Augusta County, Va., and Hening, Virginia Statutes, vol. 7, pg. 190.

11 Will Book 3, pg. 304, Augusta County, Va.

12 Thomas L. Preston, Historical Sketches, pg. 119.

13 Order Book 1770/1, Part 1, pgs. 383, 415, 319, Botetourt County, Va.

14 Lewis Preston Summers, Annals of Southwest Virginia, pg. 617.

15 Collins, vol. 2, pg. 417.

16 Tithable Book 1, Botetourt County, Va.

17 Court Judgments March 1768, Augusta County, Va.

18 Robert Dennison, deposition, Circuit Court File 93, Augusta County, Va.

19 Summers, pg. 624.

20 Draper Mss. 3 QQ 54.

21 Summers, pg 1425.

22 Draper Mss. 3 QQ 110.

23 Draper Mss. 3 QQ 123.

24 Draper Mss. 3 QQ 115/1151. In The Preston and Virginia Papers, Calendar Series, vol. 1, John Dougherty is indexed as Joseph, but a study of the original letter shows the spelling is "Jno" for John, not "Jos" for Joseph. Joseph Dougherty at this period was living on Reed Creek, not on Laurel Creek of the North Holston. In every instance possible, I have used original sources but in these footnotes frequently give printed sources as being more easily obtained by researchers than original records, some of which can be come upon only by accident, having been stolen from courthouses and sold or given to libraries and collectors.

25 Summers, pg. 637.

26 Order Book 2, pg. 341, Montgomery County, Va.

27 Collins, vol. 2, pg. 286.

28 "Records" of the militia, pgs. 185, 196, 260, Virginia State Library.

29 Collins, vol. 2, pg. 519, and deposition of John Wilson, et al. Nelson County Circuit Court, October 7, 1794.

30 Case of John Dopgherty vs. William Crow, Kentucky Reports, Hughes 1, 1785/1801, pg. 42, Supreme Court of Kentucky, October term, 1791, in Chancery; and Calvin Morgan Facklen, Early Days in Danville.

31 The Filson Club History Quarterly, vol. 21, No. 11, pg. 37.

32 The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, vol. 22, No. 64, pg. 89.

33 Robert Givens, Virginia; Pension S-13168.

34 Register, vol. 42, No. 140, pg. 229. *

35 Collins, vol. 2, pg. 35. Unfortunately, Judge Collins does not give the source of his data on the Allen family, perhaps a deposition.

36 Mss., Rev. John Craig's diary, now available in Wilson, The Tinkling Spring, pg. 470, a recent and excellent, painstaking work of research.

37 Register, vol. 52, No. 181, pg. 295.

38 Register, vol. 20, No. 59, pg. 170.

39 Robert Givens, Virginia; Pension S-13168.

*See *Genealogies of Kentucky Families* (Vol. O-Y), 56.

40 Clark Papers, Series E, vol. 2, Thruston Collection, Virginia State Library, pg. 506; and Illinois Document 127. For entire payroll, see Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, vol. 49, No. 169, pg. 396.

41 Virginia Land Grants, Book 11, pg. 88.

42 Draper Mss. 5 ZZ 80.

43 Kentucky Supreme Court Deed Book A, pg. 294.

44 Entry Book 2, pg. 296, Lincoln County, Ky.

45 Virginia Land Grants, Book 14, pg. 442 and Grant Book 23, pg. 671.

46 Michael Dougherty, deposition, Shelby County Circuit Court, photograph in possession of author.

47 The Western Sun, Vincennes, Ind., October 1, 1809, from C. E. Carter, Territorial Papers of the United States—The Territory of Indiana, vol. 7, pg. 673.

48 Marriage Records February 1809/October 1817, Harrison County, Ind.

49 Carter, Territorial Papers, vol. 7, pg. 708, and vol. 8, pg. 15.

50 Executive Journal of Indiana Territory 1800/1816, pg. 171.

51 History of Orange County, Ind., Goodspeed, pg. 22.

52 From photographs of gravestones in possession of author.

53 Filson Club History Quarterly, vol. 22, No. 2, pg. 75; and will of Robert Lemon, probated in Jefferson County, Ky., February 7, 1792; and numerous records of Ohio County, West Virginia, and vicinity.

54 Marriage Register, Nelson County, Ky.

55 Deed Book 4, pg. 199, Nelson County, Ky.

56 Bennett H. Young, The Battle of the Thames.

57 The Missouri Historical Review, vol. 24, No. 3, pg. 359.

58 Thomas James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, pg. 46, 66, et sec.

59 Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, vols. 14-17 and 37.

60 Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied in North America, Early Western Travels, vol. 2.

Many authentic and interesting details in the Dougherty research have come from the printed Kentucky Reports of Supreme Court and Appeals Court cases. The early Kentucky Reports are rather unique in that they generally contain a great deal more information about the parties involved than the reports of other States; this was due, no doubt, in part to the fact that the famous and interminable land suits of Kentucky presented new problems to the legal fraternity. The character of the Reports changed in time, became drier, their tempo speeded up with changing times. These early Reports are, I believe, largely overlooked by historians and genealogists. They should be available in the libraries of larger cities, and in the libraries of at least one attorney in every town.

THE DOUGHERTYS OF KENTUCKY

BY
WILLIAM C. STEWART

Part II

MARY PATTON: A THEORY *

The glimpses we catch of Mary, first wife of Captain James Patton, one of the founders of Louisville, Kentucky, are tantalizing, now dim, now sharp and clear, but always just out of reach. We see her, Watts' hymn book in hand, gathering the settlers around her for Sunday services on a warm July day in 1778, safe on long-vanished Corn Island while General George Rogers Clark pursues the conquest of the Northwest country. A little later, we see her keeping house for her husband and three daughters in the trunk of a hollow sycamore tree, which formed one room of the Pattons' log cabin on Eighth Street between Main Street and the Ohio River, in Louisville. She must have watched with pride, the little girls gathered about her ample skirts, as Captain Patton and John Dougherty brought in the timbers and built Fort Nelson. In time, as danger from the Indians passed, she became the mistress of a large stone house. Atop it was a kind of cupola or balcony, somewhat like the widow's walk of a New England seaport house, from which Captain Patton delighted to watch the Falls of the Ohio. There must have been times when she stood there, watching her husband, the most skillful pilot of the town, guiding boats through the rapids.[1]

It is possible to reconstruct Mary Patton's life, as Isabel McLennan McMeekin did delightfully in "Louisville, The Gateway City," but very little is known about her, almost nothing prior to 1778. This is an attempt to explore the mystery of her origin.

Her name, according to family tradition, was Mary Dougherty.[2] She was married, it is conjectured, about 1769. When she and Captain Patton, among the twenty families accompanying General Clark and his little army down the Ohio from the Monongahela country, arrived at the site of the future Louisville on May 27, 1778, they had with them their three daughters, the elder eight years old. The three were Martha, born in Virginia in 1770; Margaret; and Mary, born in Virginia in 1773; usually the girls were called Patsy, Peggy and Polly. Mary, the mother, perhaps was born about 1750. She died in 1787 and five years later Captain Patton took a second wife, and in 1804 a third.

Captain Patton and his family were near Redstone Old Fort, (Brownsville) Fayette County, Pennsylvania, early in 1778 when he became a lieutenant to Captain Will Harrod, James Harrod's brother who was recruiting men for

*For additional information on the Patton family see *Genealogies of Kentucky Families* (Vol. O-Y), 4-82.

General Clark's secret expedition to the Illinois. Since he had his family with him, it seems likely that Patton already was on the move from old Virginia, seeking a new home either in the Monongahela country, or perhaps with his eye already on Kentucky, when he fell in with Clark and Harrod. The other nineteen families were preparing to leave for Kentucky and were delighted to have a strong guard accompanying them from one Indian-troubled area to another; doubtless the Pattons were of the group. The Pattons were accustomed to Indian fighting in Augusta County, Virginia, and it is not strange that James Patton readily agreed to enlist with Harrod.[3]

Astonishingly little is known of the Pattons of Augusta County, Virginia, considering their prominence in the early settlements. Henry Patton of County Donegal, Province of Ulster, Ireland, was a member of an outstanding family of Scottish origin. His son, Colonel James Patton, one of the early great landowners of the Virginia Valley, and his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of John Preston, reached America August 25, 1738.[4] Of their brother, John, it is known only that he came sometime between 1736 and 1740. John was the father of Captain James Patton of Louisville. Even the date of birth of Captain James is uncertain. His gravestone in Louisville gives the date as 1748, Colonel R. T. Durrett gives the date as 1735.[5]

Captain John Patton was the first High Sheriff of newly-formed Augusta County in 1745 and he was qualified as captain of the "County Foote" or militia in 1752. He brought with him to America his wife, Miss Rogers, who died and on March 23, 1754 he was married to Agnese _____. Captain John Patton wrote his will on January 2, 1756, and he died the following year. Of his eight children, the first six or perhaps seven are believed to have been by Miss Rogers. They were: John Jr.; Matthew, born 1730 in Ireland, died 1803 in Kentucky; Samuel; William; Captain James Patton, born October 12, 1735 or 1748, died Louisville, December 29, 1815; Margaret; Isabell and Agnese. In his will, Captain John mentioned that William, James, Margaret, Isabell and Agnese were under age, thus born 1735 or after. His other children already having been portioned off, he devised to William and James the 200 acres of land on which he then lived. On March 16, 1757, the widow Agnese Patton, with Matthew Lyle and Alexander Miller, gave bond of 300 pounds as executrix and executors of Captain John's estate.[6] John Wardlaw had been named as co-executor with Agnese. He was then a lad of nineteen and he refused to take the burden of such a responsible position upon his shoulders. Lyle was named by the court in his place.[7] Of John Wardlaw, more later. Under the terms of the will, the widow Agnese was to have the use of the property until the children came of age.

On May 20, 1777, Captain James sold to his brother, William, his interest in the land left them by their father. The land being "whereupon James

Patton formerly lived being the land willed to James by his father, John Patton, and one-half of 250 acres."[8] The deed does not describe the land. When Captain James ceased to live on the land is not known, perhaps on the date of sale as no other land stood in his name, although he was on the Rockbridge County tax list for 1778, the year that county was set off from Augusta County. So we do not know at what time between May 20, 1777 and the middle of May, 1778 that Captain James travelled to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, from where he started the journey to Kentucky. One of the soldiers with General Clark was Neal Dougherty, a single man, who remained with Captain James Patton to guard the women and children on Corn Island when General Clark embarked for the Illinois June 24, 1778.[9] Later, John Dougherty was at the Falls of the Ohio, helping obtain timbers for Captain Patton in the construction of Fort Nelson.[10] The relation of Neal and John Dougherty to Mary Dougherty Patton is conjectural. Neal was granted land in Clark's Grant across the river in Indiana,[11] and we see no more of him; several years of study of the Dougherty family has indicated that Neal was a Pennsylvanian and that his presence with Mary Patton on the journey to Kentucky was a coincidence. He is not the Cornelius Dougherty who served under Clark from Madison County, Kentucky, at a later date. Two John Doughertys served with Clark, one being for many years captain of militia in Lincoln County, the other years later was a resident of Shelby County, Kentucky, and received a pension as a veteran of Clark's Illinois Regiment. In addition there was a John Dardy (and a Baptiste Dardy) but Dardy is almost certainly a French-Canadian from the vicinity of Detroit.[12]

Work on Fort Nelson was begun in 1779 and was finished by Captain Patton in 1782. A John Doherty was on the payroll of Captain Jacob Pyatt, Company of Marines Under General George R. Clark, believed to be from June 12 to October 12, 1782.[13] " 'One carbine' was issued to John Daughty, Marine in my company," by order of Captain Pyatt on June 25, 1782.[14] Whether this John Doherty or Daughty was the same man as the better known Captain John Dougherty of Lincoln County, is not known, but it would not appear that he is. Both before and after June, 1782, Captain John of Lincoln was active at the forts and on expeditions with Colonel Benjamin Logan and General Clark. It does not appear probable that he left his duties and family in Lincoln (now Boyle) County, just below Danville, to serve as a private at the Falls of the Ohio. Captain John of Lincoln was actively engaged on August 25, 1782, while John of Fort Nelson is believed to have been still serving under Captain Pyatt, one of his comrades with Pyatt being paid for June 12 to October 12. Every document available in Louisville, Richmond and Washington has been studied without any light being shed on the possible relationship of Neal and John

Dougherty of Fort Nelson to Mary Dougherty Patton. Thus the search for her origin must be made in Virginia.

There is some evidence that Captain John Patton, father of Captain James, came to Virginia through the instrumentality of Benjamin Borden, rather than with John's brother Colonel James Patton. However that may be, Captain John lived at the time of his death in Borden's Grant, while Colonel James had taken up his residence near Staunton in Beverley's Grant.[15]

Borden sold some land to George Stevenson on February 27, 1750/51 that cornered to John Patton, Thomas McMurray and James Greenlee, and on John Stephenson's line, in Borden's Great Grant, and on the same day John Patton purchased of Borden 200 acres, cornering to Thomas McMurray.[16] McMurray sold his land to the Rev. John Brown on May 21, 1755.[17] The Reverend Mr. Brown was the first settled minister of New Providence and of Timber Ridge churches in Borden's Grant, and John Patton had signed the call for him in 1753.[18] John Patton's son William later testified that he had lived in Borden's Grant from 1750.[19]

Alexander Miller, the executor of John Patton's will, was the first blacksmith in the Borden Grant, and was a trustee of New Providence Church.[20] He lived adjoining James McDowell.[21] Borden sold to William Wardlaw, planter, 343 acres on Mill Creek, Joseph Kennedy's line, on June 17, 1752.[22] When William Wardlaw wrote his will nine years later, he named his son, John, as co-executor with his wife.[23] Both William and John Wardlaw had joined with John Patton in calling the Rev. John Brown to New Providence Church.

The area in which Captain John Patton lived is between the North River (North Fork of the James) and the South River, in the northeast part of Rockbridge County, Virginia. The Mill Creek referred to flows past Timber Ridge and into the North Fork (Maury) opposite Lexington.[24]

In 1806, William Patton deposed in a land case that he was born in 1742 (he probably was older than his brother, Captain James) and that his father, Captain John Patton, and William Wardlaw were intimate.[25] In the same case, Dominic Moren was said to have lived on the land in the area involved.[26]

In the earliest days of Augusta County, from which Rockbridge County, home of the Pattons, was set off, there were four Dougherty families, between 1737/8 and 1778, and each should be examined. All four of the families may be related; certainly the two nearest the seat of John Patton and his son, James, were.

1. William Dougherty was a blacksmith who settled on the Cowpasture River, then a part of Augusta County, but now in Bath County, on or before October 29, 1743.[27] The land was officially granted to him on November 3, 1750. Three of his children, William, Joseph and Agnes, were baptised by the Rev. John Craig in 1749.[28] The Indians were so bad in 1755 that summonses

could not be served on William, or on Charles Dougherty, over on Kerr Creek.[29] A series of forts was built the following year, but the Indians continued raids, and William's neighbor, Archibald Clendenning Jr., was killed by them in 1761.[30] William's wife, Elizabeth, proved a heroine in the terrible raid by Cornstalk in 1763. The Shawnees were seen from Fort Young on Jackson River and an express was sent to William Dougherty's. He was away from home at the time, so Elizabeth mounted a horse and raced up the valley of the Cowpasture, warning the settlers, who were able to flee to safety in the mountains before the Indians arrived. The residents of Kerr Creek were not so fortunate, and on July 17, 1763, Charles Dougherty, among others, was killed.[31] William appears to have married a second time, rather late in life, in 1786. Perhaps in a general settlement, four days before the marriage, on January 26 William divided his land and slaves between his sons William, Joseph and George and gave 40 pounds to his daughters Elizabeth and Agnes.[32] His son James at this time was in Kentucky, and he must have sent back an appreciative description of the new country, for on November 7, 1791, the land taken up by William in 1743 was transferred to neighbor Robert Sitlington. The deed had been signed by the entire family, including the second wife, Mary, and James on November 6, 1790 in Kentucky (Green County).[33] The family appears to have settled along the southern boundary of Kentucky.

2. Cornelius Dougherty, a weaver, was listed in Captain George Robinson's company in 1742.[34] He lived on Cedar Creek of the North Fork of Roanoke, and still was there in 1773 and 1779, when he deeded his land to his son, William.[35] North Fork of Roanoke is a considerable distance from the Forks of the James, where the Pattons lived.

3. Michael Dougherty, a generation older than any of the other Doughertys of record in the Augusta County area, appears to have arrived there in 1738, coming from Chester County, Pennsylvania. He had a son, Michael, who moved to what is now Wythe County, Virginia, in the 1760's. Michael may have been the father of William of Cowpasture, and he almost certainly was the father of Charles Dougherty, who lived on Kerr Creek. Michael Jr. had a son Henry born about 1740/1, son John born in 1743 and other children in that period. Michael Jr. and Charles were both of an age to have had a daughter born about 1750. No other Doughertys of that age are known to have lived within many miles of the farm where Captain James Patton was reared. Charles was about twelve miles away and Michael about fifteen miles, from the Patton home.

4. Charles Dougherty was granted eighty acres on a branch of Kerr Creek (Cunningham's Creek) between North and House Mountains, on March 10, 1756,[36] but he had been living there at least as early as 1745, as shown by his signature to other deeds.[37] As stated before, Charles was killed by the

Shawnees in 1763, on a Sunday morning when many of the inhabitants were some distance away at church. Both Waddell and Withers state that Charles' entire family was wiped out, and other writers have followed this. However, Charles' wife Rebecca survived, and it is almost certain that some if not all of his children, including his son James, escaped death. On September 20, 1763, two months after the raid, Rebecca Dougherty was named administratrix of Charles' estate, with her neighbors Edward Rutledge and Henry Campbell on her bond. She appeared in the records again on March 22, 1768 in connection with the estate.[38] The eighty acres were sold in 1765 by George Dougherty, son, or the nephew of Charles.[39]

James, son of Charles Dougherty, was baptised by the Rev. John Craig on May 3, 1747. There is considerable evidence that Charles was a son of Michael Dougherty, and that Charles and Rebecca had children, James, Catherine, Thomas and Daniel, perhaps George, William, Anthony and others. Catherine was married to David Harbison, June 25, 1773, with consent of Rebecca and James as her bondsman.[40]

The first tax list for Rockbridge County, in 1778, showed James, William and George Dougherty; the 1782 list includes James, Anthony, William and Thomas. James at that time lived on the Mill Creek of North Fork of the James River, the Mill Creek near the Patton farm (and not, incidentally, the Mill Creek branch of Poague's Run, where Michael Dougherty lived until he moved to now Wythe County). On September 8, 1780, James purchased some nearby land from Dominick McMourn (or Moran)[41] although he may have been occupying or using the land prior to that.[42] It will be remembered that Dominick Moren—the same man as McMourn—was mentioned in the suit in which William Patton testified as occupying land adjacent to Patton and Wardlaw. Thus, James Dougherty was a near neighbor of the Pattons at about the time Captain James Patton left Virginia. (The Augusta County records prior to the formation of Rockbridge County in 1778 are inadequate to show how long James Dougherty had been residing on Mill Creek.) James Dougherty in time moved to Wythe County, purchased an iron works, and died there in 1799. In 1779, Daniel Dougherty, probably his brother, operated an iron works on Irish Creek of South River, not far from James Dougherty's Mill Creek farm. Extensive records show that James also had a brother, Thomas, and children named Mary, Julie Ann, Daniel, Thomas, David, John and perhaps William and George. Anthony Dougherty had children Rebecca and Jacob, and at his death in 1792, James acted as his executor.

West of the North Fork of the James, at the headwaters of Mill Creek of Paogue's Run and of Cedar and Broad Creeks, the Doughertys had been living since about 1738. First there was Michael Dougherty (I) who died in 1763, and then his son, Michael, who moved to now Wythe County, Virginia, during

the 1760's. Some members of the family probably continued to live there because the land was not sold until 1782, when Michael (II) died, and his son, Henry, returned from Kentucky long enough to settle the estate. If Mary Patton came from this branch of the family, she would have been a daughter of Michael (II) the only Dougherty known, besides Charles, of an age to have a daughter about 1750.

Michael (II) had a daughter who married Robert Dennison, and perhaps one who married an Allen of Rockbridge County. There was a Doherty Allen in that period, which indicates an Allen-Dougherty marriage. And, when James Allen, father of Colonel John Allen, moved to Kentucky in the fall of 1780, he and his family lived at Dougherty's Station one and one-half miles below Danville until he and Joseph Daviess built a station for themselves. Dougherty Station was the seat of Captain John Dougherty, son of Michael Dougherty (II). John's wife was named Isabelle, and it has been conjectured that she was Isabelle Allen, daughter of James Allen, who was baptised by the Rev. John Craig in 1746 in the Rockbridge County area. Or, she may have been Isabelle, the daughter of John Patton, mentioned in his will of 1756, and who also probably was born around 1750/4.

Since the exact date of Mary's marriage to Captain James Patton, about 1768/9, and the exact date of the removal of Michael (II) from Rockbridge to Wythe County, between 1764 and 1769, are not known, it cannot be said whether Michael was living near the Pattons at the time of the marriage. However, there must have been an opportunity for the two young people to become acquainted. Patton's father, Captain John Patton, surveyed 245 acres on a branch of Reed Creek above Andrew Evans, in now Wythe County, on March 9, 1750/1[43] but it is not known whether any of the Pattons ever lived on this land. The tract was within a short distance of the Dougherty farm on Reed Creek.

In 1751 and probably before, one Mary Doughort lived near Michael Dougherty on the headwaters of Broad, Cedar and Mill Creeks in the forks of the James.[44] Her name has been rendered as Dougherty by some genealogists, apparently incorrectly. Mary could not write and her mark appears on various documents. The name is never spelled except as Doughort, and there is evidence the name actually was the French Jocert.

The Michael Dougherty family and the Pattons certainly were acquainted, having official duties in common. One of the closest friends of Michael (I) was George Wilson[45] from Chester County, Pennsylvania, who married Rebecca Vicers or Viers, niece to Colonel James Patton's wife.

The number of settlers in Augusta County in the period 1748 to 1770 who did not hold land in their own names was so small as to be negligible. For this reason, it does not seem to be a radical assumption that of the Doughertys

in the area, only Michael (II) and Charles Dougherty both lived in reasonable proximity and were of an age to have a daughter born about 1750. There may have been other sons of Michael (I) it is true, but if so no trace of them is found in the records.

Somewhere in dusty files, there may be further light on the antecedents of Mary Patton, but from what is now known, the probabilities would seem to favor the theory that she was the daughter either of Charles or of Michael Dougherty (II), and the granddaughter of Michael Dougherty (I).

Part III

DOUGHERTY, CALDWELL AND RODGERS FAMILIES OF KENTUCKY

On the day that King George II was proclaimed in New Castle, Delaware, December 10, 1727, there arrived from the Province of Ulster, Ireland, a group of emigrants who were to furnish many of the early settlers of Kentucky. In that year began the heavier stream of emigration from Northern Ireland that was to dot Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky with family names and place names reminiscent of Donegal, Londonderry and Antrim. The Dochartachs had been seated in Inishowen, County Donegal, for centuries and the Caldwell name had been familiar in Presbyterian annals of Ulster in the seventeenth century. Setting foot on American soil that December day were John Caldwell, his wife Margaret Phillips; Thomas Dougherty and his wife, Margaret's sister, probably Anne; and three of Caldwell's brothers-in-law who had married sisters, Moor, Ritchey and Dudgeon.[1] With them, or soon after came at least one brother of Caldwell and perhaps one or more brothers of Dougherty.

The group became established at Chestnut Level, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which until 1729 was a part of Chester County. The first mention of a Caldwell in Lancaster County records was on May 7, 1734, when William, believed to be brother to John Caldwell, was on a jury with John Cunningham and others.[2] John Caldwell was one of the viewers of a road to James Buckley's mill from Chestnut Level on February 3, 1736.[3] On February 7, 1738, Thomas Dougherty was involved in a dispute with George Middleton, John Finley and several others. The case was continued that day and, oddly enough, still is on the books of Lancaster County, there never having been any disposition of the affair. It seems a fair assumption that this marks the approximate date of Thomas Dougherty's departure for Albemarle County, Virginia, where he next is found with John Caldwell, prior to their moving to what is now Charlotte County, Virginia, to establish the famous Cub Creek Presbyterian settlement. The jury list for that day, February 7, is interesting to students of the movement of emigration up the Valley of Virginia and into Kentucky. It included John Caldwell, John Stewart, Thomas Harris, James Patton, John Patton—probably not Colonel James Patton of Augusta County—Thomas Paxton, Robert Jackson,

James Robeson, Joseph and Samuel Crockett and Robert and Hugh Boyd.[4] In the same period may be found Alexander Miller, the McConnells soon to move toward the Ohio River, the Stephensons, Logans and Morgan Morgan. James Dougherty is mentioned in 1748 in connection with the McConnells; whether this is a brother of Thomas Dougherty is not certain, although James does not appear as early in Southern Virginia as does Thomas, and Alexander McConnell did not enter land there until some time after Thomas Dougherty and John Caldwell were established on Cub Creek.

One of the most important single incidents in the settlement of the back parts of Virginia took place on April 11, 1738, when the Donegal Presbytery meeting in Lancaster County, heard John Caldwell present a petition looking toward the obtaining of "favor and encouragement" from Governor Gooch of Virginia for settlement of the dissenters on the Virginia frontier.[5] Governor Gooch in time approved the petition, feeling that to have a group of sturdy Scotch Irish between the Tidewater settlements and the Indians would be of great value. "Caldwell and all his kin" first stopped in what is now Albemarle County, before going on to Cub Creek.[6]

Many of the early records of Albemarle County were destroyed by the British so that gaps exist in the chronology of the movements of the Caldwells and Doughertys between 1738 and 1741, the approximate date of the establishment of Cub Creek settlement. Thomas Dougherty was granted land on Moreman's River, adjoining Major Henry, in 1743, but since patents generally were issued years after land had been entered and occupied, it is reasonable to suppose that he was in Albemarle County about 1738.[7] Dougherty's first land patent on Turnip Creek, adjoining Cub Creek, is dated November 12, 1753,[8] but other records indicate he was there much earlier, as was Caldwell and his other kin.

Perhaps a relative, Hugh Dougherty was granted land in Albemarle on August 5, 1737; after the death of his son Michael in 1766, Hugh moved to Bedford County, Virginia.[9]

On December 18, 1740, John Caldwell was living at Buck Hill. William Caldwell's son, John, and William, son of Thomas Dougherty, were baptised on that day in Caldwell's house by the Rev. John Craig, the first resident Presbyterian minister in the area of Augusta and now Albemarle Counties, Virginia.[10] Caldwell and Craig had been friends in Chestnut Level, Pennsylvania. Now Craig was living in Augusta County, and Caldwell and Dougherty were some 25 or 30 miles away, east of the Blue Ridge Mountains and northeast of Woods Gap. Sometime between December 18, 1740 and 1742, the Caldwells and Doughertys moved to the part of Brunswick County that is now Charlotte County, Virginia, and in 1748 was Lunenburg County.[11] The 1748 tithable list included Thomas Dougherty with three tithables, the other two probably being his sons or brothers. Both Thomas and James were listed in 1752.[12]

On January 1, 1745, Richard Kennon of Charles City County, Virginia, and William Kennon Jr. of Henrico County, Virginia, sold to Thomas Dougherty, 360 acres near "Cubb Creek, cornering to John Caldwell."[13] This is the first of several dozen deeds bearing Thomas Dougherty's name in Brunswick, Lunenburg, Charlotte, Bedford and Halifax Counties. Later that year, Thomas Dougherty and James Hunt were witnesses to the will of Thomas Cunningham, son of James Cunningham, which was probated on April 7, 1752.[14] The Cunninghams, too, had come from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Members of the early Cub Creek settlement included Richard Dudgeon, William Logan, William Rodgers, David Logan, James Walkup, James Logan and others whose descendants in time emigrated to Kentucky.[15] Thomas Dougherty, William Rodgers, William, David and Thomas Caldwell, and Thomas and Richard Dudgeon are mentioned in the Halifax County records from 1747. The McConnells had land in now Charlotte County by 1750, the Moormans moved over from Nansemond County, and in 1759 land was granted to Stephen Goggin Sr., all of whom will figure later in this narrative. William Rodgers married Margaret Ann, only daughter of John Caldwell. William was dead by April 3, 1751,[16] the same year that John Caldwell's will was probated. John Rodgers, son of William, writing some years later to Elias Caldwell, said his father died in October, 1750 and Caldwell died within fourteen days of Rodgers death.[17]

The date of the death of Thomas Dougherty Sr. is not known; land grants and deeds continuing in the name of his son Thomas and other kin of the same name, do not reveal his passing. However, a Thomas Dougherty died intestate in Lancaster County, by September 8, 1761, and this may be the Charlotte County man back on a visit, as his son Thomas is known to have made several trips to Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1769, as will appear.

The bond filed in connection with the death of Thomas Dougherty in Pennsylvania shows the administrator as Robert Clinch, an innkeeper, and bondsmen as Robert Thompson, surgeon, and Roger Conner, merchant. The circumstances indicate the possibility of a man dying in an inn far from home.[18]

The will of David Logan, probated April 14, 1763, mentions his daughter Mary Caldwell. Robert Caldwell, who later lived near Danville, Kentucky, was executor of the Logan will. They were the parents of Phillips Caldwell, of Kentucky, named for Margaret Phillips, wife of John Caldwell.[19]

About 1760, the Dougherty family moved to Bedford County, Virginia, and "Jared Dorety, planter" appears in the records in 1764. His name is variously spelled in Virginia and in Kentucky as Jared, Jarrett and Garrard. The 1764 deed was witnessed by Stephen Goggin Sr., his wife and daughter.[20]

John, son of William Rodgers, was married to Margaret Ann, daughter of Thomas, son of Thomas Dougherty, before July 30, 1768, as a deed of that date shows.[21] William Rodgers was the son of the Rev. John Rodgers, fifth

president of Harvard College and son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rodgers from England. William's son John was born January 25, 1747. John Rodgers and Maragaret Ann Dougherty moved to Kentucky in 1781,[22] and he died August 30, 1836 in Franklin, Tennessee. Their daughter, Ann Philips Rogers, married Felix Grundy of Kentucky, later United States Senator from Tennessee; and their daughter Sarah Dougherty Rodgers, married Randal McGavock, later mayor of Nashville, Tennessee.

Whether the Thomas Dougherty who died in Pennsylvania in 1761 was he of Charlotte County is not known, but Thomas of Charlotte appears to have been dead by 1764. In the meantime, two tracts of 100 acres each had been warranted to his son, Thomas Jr. in the part of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, that later was set off as Franklin County, on January 20, 1753. These tracts were in Hamilton Township. In nearby Peters (now Montgomery) Township lived a John Dougherty who had moved there from Lancaster County several years before, and whose son Moses later lived in Jessamine and Fayette Counties, Kentucky. Whether John was related to Thomas Jr. is not known. In 1768, Thomas Jr., who had continued to live in Virginia, began to sell his land, and the following year he and all of his family except the daughter who had married John Rodgers, moved to the tracts he had owned in Pennsylvania since 1753. On December 2, 1771, Thomas appointed Robert Caldwell and his son-in-law John Rodgers, his attorneys to sell all the extensive lands he still held in Virginia,[23] which included the land his father had purchased in 1745. The 1778-1780 tax lists of Hamilton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, showed Thomas' neighbors to include Alexander McConnell, David Caldwell, Andrew Phillips and several of the Swan family, as well as George Matthews and Joseph, William and James Thorne, Robert McAfee and Hugh Caldwell.[24] Thomas, James and John Dougherty served numerous tours of duty in the militia during the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Dougherty (II) died shortly after his will was written on May 22, 1789. He mentioned his beloved wife, Mary; his daughter Agnes, wife of James Thorne; daughter Margaret (Ann), wife of John Rodgers; daughter Sarah, wife of James Matthews; daughter Eleanor, wife of Hugh Caldwell; and children: James, Alexander, Martha, Robert, Thomas and Jean (Jane). Witnesses to the will were Alexander McConnell, and George and James Matthews.[25] Robert, Thomas and Jane Dougherty were over fourteen years of age. The estate was rather large for that period. Between the death of Thomas and the taking of the 1790 census, several of the sons went to Kentucky. The census showed the widow, Mary, with a son under sixteen and two daughters, and the son James also is enumerated, as were James Matthews and Hugh Caldwell.

The Doughertys disappear from the 1791 tax list and so it may be assumed

that all of them had moved to Kentucky, where the family began appearing in Mason County, in 1790. A James Dougherty was married to Mary Moore on March 25, 1788, by the Rev. Robert Cooper of Middle Spring Church, near Shippenburg, Pennsylvania. Mary was of that congregation and James was of the Rocky Springs church, not far from Thomas Dougherty's home. James very likely was the son of Thomas.

Of the other children, Martha was born in Virginia in 1767 and was married about 1789 to Robert Andrews, son of John and Hannah (Dixon) Andrews of Franklin County, Pennsylvania.[26] Robert and Martha moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, about 1792 and to Fleming County two years later. In 1803 he built a brickhouse on the Lexington road about 2½ miles from Flemingsburg. Grandson Seth Botts Andrews lived on the site of this house in 1954. The family Bible shows that Martha died in 1816 after bearing ten children. Andrews married again and had four more children. Thomas Dougherty's daughter Jane probably is she who married Joseph Yeates in Mason County, March 24, 1797.

Thomas' son Alexander quite possibly was named for the former's friend, Alexander McConnell, since this is the first appearance of that name in the Dougherty family. Alexander Dougherty and his brothers Thomas and Robert are mentioned as acquiring land in 1792 on the waters of Shannon and North Fork of Licking in an interminable McConnell deed from Elizabeth, executrix of William McConnell.[27] Alexander Dougherty was married to Susan Scott, who apparently also was known as Sarah. She was born May 14, 1778, married October 17, 1794 and died March 24, 1821,[28] and is mentioned in the will of her brother, Samuel Scott of Mason County.[29] Alexander died between January and March, 1827.[30] He perhaps is buried in the same family graveyard in Fleming County where his wife rests; some of the stones are overturned and scattered. The children of Alexander were: Ann, married Marcus D. Richardson of Lexington January 29, 1818; Thomas M., married Susan O. Harmon, February 23, 1827; Milton, married Susan Drake, April 18, 1834; John L.; James E.; Alexander C., Mason S. and Alfred. Thomas M. Dougherty was living in St. Louis by early 1830 and he perhaps was the Judge Thomas M. Dougherty who was murdered there years later.[31] Alexander C., Mason S. and Alfred had joined Thomas M. in St. Louis by 1842.

Robert, son of Thomas Dougherty (II), was living in Mason County in 1796 and in Jefferson County in 1804. He perhaps is the Robert Dougherty who was married to Margaret Abel in Jefferson County on August 31, 1803. By 1812, he was living in Fleming County.[32]

Thomas, son of Thomas (II) became the best known of the family. He purchased land in Flemingsburg in April 1799 and on May 20, he was married in Fayette County to Nancy Scott, sister of the wife of Thomas' brother, Alexander Dougherty. Thomas was admitted to practice as an attorney at the March

term of court, 1801, and on June 4, 1810, he became clerk of the Fleming County Circuit Court.[33] In 1815, Thomas was appointed to be clerk of the United States House of Representatives and during the autumn of that year he was busily engaged in selling his property preparatory to going to Washington. The only known child of Thomas and Nancy Dougherty was Mary Ann, who was married to Robert Tilford of Lexington, October 12, 1819. The Tilfords probably were from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, also, as a man of that name, possibly the father of this Robert, served in the Cumberland militia with the Doughertys during the Revolution. Thomas Dougherty died in Lexington August 9, 1822 and his widow Nancy died September 24 the following year.[34] Thomas still is remembered in stories handed down in Fleming County, particularly his clothing and his smart equipages. His estate included a four-wheeled carriage worth $250, which he kept at Lexington while he lived in Washington.[35]

The story of Thomas Dougherty's other son, James, who is believed to have married Mary Moore in 1788 and to have left Pennsylvania in 1790/91, must rest on conjecture. In the tax lists of 1800, gathered by Mr. G. Glenn Clift, James Doughertys are reported in eight counties of Kentucky. Some of these are known and may be eliminated. The historian of Woodford County says that a Revolutionary war veteran, James Dougherty, was living there in 1810. In 1805 he was the guardian of the children of James and Jane Risk. Mary, widow of James Dougherty, died in 1834, according to the records of Bethel Church, seven and one-half miles northwest of Lexington and just inside the Fayette County line where Scott and Woodford Counties meet. Amanda Dougherty, daughter of Mrs. Ann Rush or Rusk, was baptised at Bethel in 1831. The names of Thomas, James, Robert and Alexander Dougherty occur frequently in the records of Scott County, which have not been fully searched by the author. The Scott County family appears to be involved with the descendants of Thomas Dougherty who entered land in Shelby County in 1776, for which he received a certificate in 1779. Further search perhaps would show that James of Scott/Woodford/Fayette Counties was the son of Thomas (II).

When Michael Dougherty of Albemarle County, Virginia, wrote his will on August 24, 1766, he mentioned his wife Elizabeth, and his children Hannah, Margaret, Sarah and Mary, as well as an unborn child. This child was a boy, and was named John. Michael was dead by November 13, 1766, and in 1769 and 1770, Michael's father, Hugh Dougherty, sold his land and moved to Bedford County, where the Thomas Dougherty family now was living. Michael's daughter Sarah perhaps was the Sarah Dougherty who was married to Richard Timberlake in Bedford on February 20, 1775, or she may have been the daughter of one of the other kin of Thomas Dougherty in Bedford, perhaps his son, William. The Timberlakes moved to Madison County, Kentucky, and Richard died there in 1795.

A James Dougherty who appears in the records of Charlotte County, Virginia, on August 11, 1769, when he purchased land on Turnip Creek, site of the first recorded purchase of land by Thomas Dougherty (I), perhaps was a son of the James Dougherty who appeared in the records as early as 1752. The circumstances suggest that James Jr. was born about 1750. On the same day February 5, 1770, that the Turnip Creek deed was recorded, James Dougherty, Margaret Harwood and John Sneed and wife Mary sold land on Louse Creek, which also is near Cub Creek. It is suggested that Margaret and Mary were sisters of James and that they were disposing of the land of James Sr. On September 12, 1770, Andrew McConnell of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, appointed his "trusty friend, James Dougherty of Charlotte County" (Virginia) to convey title to land owned by McConnell and to receive the money therefor. On September 2, 1771, William Cunningham deeded some land to his son-in-law, James Dougherty, wheelright.[36] James had married Rebecca Cunningham.[37] He served as executor of Cunningham's estate in 1780 and sometime between then and 1785 the family moved to the part of Lincoln County that was set off as Mercer County. Rebecca appears to have died before 1810, and James was dead by December 24, 1812.[38] Their children were: Martha, married January 21, 1785, Thomas Gash, from Bedford County, Virginia; Sarah, married February 12, 1787, John Waughup or Walkup, whose family had been in Charlotte County, Virginia among the first settlers; Peggy, was married December 30, 1794 to Hugh Magill or McGill; Samuel, was married September 29, 1795 to Chloe Latimer; Polly, was married February 3, 1802 to Samuel Latimer; Rebecca was married April 10, 1809, to Archibald Gray, but her father's will indicates she had been married previously to a Caldwell, perhaps George, since she had a son John Caldwell in 1812; perhaps a daughter who married Ames Spencer; and William. William was dead by November 30, 1821, leaving to his widow Sally the "mansion house" on land at the headwaters of Salt River which James Dougherty, his father, had owned. William and Sally appear to have had children: Polly, (Mary T.) married John Purcell 1821; Sally married Edward Baker 1823; Catherine; Julianna H.; Nelson, who was living in Washington County in 1833; and there was a Finlay in Washington County in 1850, grandson of James and Rebecca.

William, the son of Thomas Dougherty (I), appears to have had sons Thomas and William. Thomas was married to Sarah Goggin, Stephen Goggin Sr. being bondsman on June 15, 1778. The latter's granddaughter, Pamela, was the paternal grandmother of Mark Twain. Stephen Goggin's daughter, Lettice, was married to William Dougherty on March 28, 1786.[39] William may have been in Kentucky as early as 1780. There were two William Doughertys in the Kentucky militia at Estill's Station in early 1781, one of them very likely the man from Bedford County, Virginia. Both William and Thomas entered

considerable land in what is now Madison County during the 1780's. A long dispute ensued between William Dougherty and Richard Allen over an entry made for Allen by Daniel Boone on June 30, 1780. One of Boone's depositions in this case, missing from the Fayette County Circuit Court, may be found in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.[40] Neither Thomas nor William appear to have lived in Kentucky for any length of time, although numerous descendants did. Thomas was dead by April 5, 1802,[41] leaving his widow, Sarah Goggin Dougherty, and his children: Elizabeth, who married William Miles in 1802; Polly, who married Stephen Goggin in 1811; Nancy, who died single in Madison county in 1825; and Lettice. She may be the Lettice who married Charles Brooking in Madison County in 1828. Thomas' brother William had a son, Stephen Dougherty, who was married to Jane Smith in 1818 in Adair County, Kentucky, where several members of the Goggin and Clemens families went from Bedford County, Virginia. William also appears to have had children: Sarah, married John Robinson in Virginia, 1810; William, married Sally Dalton in Madison County, 1822; James, married Judith Roads in Virginia, 1808; John, married Dicey Sandifer in Virginia, 1819; and perhaps Thomas, married Betsy Cissell in Kentucky, 1811.

Several other Dougherty families were early settlers in Kentucky. John Dougherty, who formerly had lived in Rathmuller Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,[42] was living in Peters Township, Cumberland (now Franklin) County, Pennsylvania, when the first tax list was taken in 1750/51. The area in which John had his farm now is Montgomery Township, having been set off from Peters. John Dougherty's will, probated in 1777,[43] mentioned his wife, Lilly, his son Moses; daughter Sarah, wife of David Maughlan; and daughter Mary, wife of John Kerr. His son John had died in 1764 (and the latter's son John died in 1785 without issue.) His son Samuel had died in 1772, leaving children James, Samuel and Mary. There is some evidence these two boys later lived in Kentucky. Moses, the surviving son, married Sidney McConnell, sister of James and William McConnell and Elizabeth McConnell, who married David Morgan.[44] Moses sold the Pennsylvania farm in 1785 and moved to Kentucky by 1787, when he was on the Fayette County tax list; on December 2, 1789, he purchased land on Hickman Creek in Jessamine County, Kentucky, from Major John Shelby. He also had land in Fayette County he obtained from the heirs of Francis McConnell. The Hickman Creek land was divided between his son John, and his daughter, Margaret, wife of Samuel Wilson, in 1813; and the Fayette County land was in time left to his son James, who lived in Fayette County as late as 1816. The Samuel Dougherty who arrived in Jessamine County by 1799 appears to have been Moses' nephew, the son of his brother Samuel. Moses' son John was married to Elizabeth Miles in Jessamine County in 1801. They had thirteen children, Paris, James, Eliza,

wife of Eli Crow, Margaret, wife of John Grapes, Robert, George, Martha Jane, Ellis, John Thomas, William, Franklin, Sydeneann and Joseph, when John's land was divided in 1837. He was dead by September 19, 1838. John's son Joseph moved to Missouri, and perhaps others of the family did likewise.

Cornelius Dougherty is said to have come from Ireland to Virginia in 1760, where he married Mary Hill.[45] He was at Estill's Station in Kentucky sometime between 1776 and 1781. He or more likely his son Cornelius served under General George R. Clark in the fall of 1782. His son Alexander served with Colonel Benjamin Logan that year. One of the two William Doughertys with Logan at Estill's Station in 1781 probably was Cornelius' son. His son or brother David signed a petition to divide Lincoln County in 1783. His daughter Ann married Jeremiah Perry in Madison County in 1787. He and his daughter Isabel didn't get along and she went to live in the home of Michael McNeely that year. Alexander married Margaret Rogers in Madison County in 1791. Noble married Jane Vancleve, with his brothers John and Christopher as witnesses. By 1800, Noble, John and William were living in Washington County and Christopher and his wife Martha moved to Hardin County, where he died between 1812 and 1819. Cornelius appears to have had sons George and David and perhaps Abraham. His son James Hill was married in 1819 to Mary Foster in Cumberland County, Kentucky, where several other members of the family moved. James Hill Dougherty moved to Illinois in 1824 and eventually to Tennessee, where he died. The Joseph Dougherty who died in Cumberland County in 1819 and his neighbor, William, appear to be not connected with the family of Cornelius, but to have been the sons of William Dougherty who moved from the Cowpasture in now Bath County, Virginia, to Green County, Kentucky, about 1790.

Dr. Michael Dougherty and John Dougherty appeared in Mason County, Kentucky, in 1790. They may have been the men of the same name who left Green County, Pennsylvania, about that time. John died in 1794 but Dr. Michael lived on for many years and left a large family. On December 28, 1790, he was given a tax rebate, having been charged by mistake as a practicing physician.[46] In 1801, he went to the Kentucky House of Representatives as Mason County's representative, and he served in the same capacity again in 1805 and 1806 and as State Senator from 1811 to 1815. The family lived near Washington, Mason County. Michael's son David Armstrong Dougherty, who married Susan Moss in 1807, was a constable from 1807 until his death in 1814. He had children William, James and David A. Jr. Michael's daughter Sally married Basil Lamb in 1811, and his son Charles married Delilah Calvert. Charles moved to Platte County, Missouri, in 1842 and was drowned the following year. He had children: Mary, who married Samuel C. Bowers and later John Bryant; Ann, who married Anderson Hord, a native of Mason County, in 1858; and William Henry Harrison Dougherty.[47] A number of members

of the Calvert family from Scott County, Kentucky, lived in the same part of Platte County. Michael's son William moved to Franklin County about 1839, and his son James H. died in Mason County in 1842. His daughter Mary Ann was married to Bernard Dougherty, apparently no relation, in Mason County in 1838, moved to Franklin County. Bernard died in 1856 and Mary Ann in Woodford County in 1869. They had children Margaret, Resean, John, Mary, Sarah and Albert. Dr. Michael may also have had children M. Augustus and Mary. Michael died by November, 1825 and his widow, Mary, by September, 1836.

The origins of a few other Doughertys who arrived in Kentucky prior to 1800 have not been completely studied. A John Dougherty of Bourbon County was from Monongalia County, West Virginia, and there is some evidence that he came originally from Rockbridge County, Virginia. From the same Forks of the James community came William Dougherty, veteran of the Revolutionary War, who lived in Lincoln County during the early decades of the nineteenth century. A James Dougherty was admitted to practice law in Madison, Hardin and Logan Counties in 1790/92; he probably was the same man. It is not known whether he was the same James who arrived in now Hardin County in the early 1780's and died there. One of the Jameses quite likely was the son of Michael Dougherty (II) of Reed Creek, Wythe County, Virginia, whose brother John came to Kentucky in 1775.

NOTES: PART II

[1]For the general background see *The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 227; Isabel McLennan McMeekin, *Louisville the Gateway City* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1946).

[2]The spelling Dougherty or Doherty, as well as other variants, derive from Dochartach of Ulster, Ireland, and I have adopted Dougherty, the spelling most favored by the family in Virginia and Kentucky.

[3]Kathryn Harrod Mason, *James Harrod of Kentucky* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 131-139.

[4]Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom, a Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952* (Fishersville, Va.: Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Presbyterian Churches, 1954), p. 20.

[5]*The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 231.*

[6]*Ibid.*, XXXV, No. 111 (April, 1937), 137; XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 228.

[7]Augusta County, Va., Will Book 2, p. 183. [Lyman Chalkley in his *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia; extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Va.: The Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912-1913), III, 44, by error says Miller refused to execute. He meant Wardlaw.]

[8]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 21, p. 512; Chalkley, *op. cit.*, III, 550.

[9]William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783 and Life of George Rogers Clark . . .* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1896), I, 145.

[10]*The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 229.*

[11]English, *op.cit.*, II, 839.

[12]*Ibid.*, II, 1060; Clark Papers (MSS in Thruston Collection, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Series E, II, 506; Illinois Document (MSS in Virginia State Library, Rich-

*For pp. 229 & 231, see *Genealogies of Kentucky Families* (Vol. O-Y), 56 & 58.

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op.cit., III, 327.
County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 223; Chalkley, *op.cit.*, III, 399.
County, Va., Deed Book 4, p. 342.
ounty, Va., Will Book 3, p. 131.
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op.cit., II, 272.
273.
County, Va., Deed Book 1, p. 38; Virginia Land Grants, Patent Book 30, p. 384.
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County, Va., "File 397."
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mmers), pp. 551, 560.
and Grants, Patent Book 34, p. 46.
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op.cit., III, 80; I, 148.
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cKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom, a Study of*
Her People, 1732-1952. (Fishersville, Va.: Tinkling Spring and Hermitage

Presbyterian Churches, 1954), p. 42.

[6]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[7]Virginia Land Grants (MSS in Land Office, Richmond, Va.), Patent Book 21, p. 513.

[8]*Ibid.*, Patent Book 32, p. 291.

[9]*Ibid.*, Patent Book 17, p. 393; Patent Book 34, p. 375; Albemarle County, Va., Will Book, August 24, 1766.

[10]Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 474 [The Reverend John Craig's dairy.]

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 82.

[12]Landon C. Bell, *Sunlight on the Southside; List of Tithes, Lunenburg County, Va., 1748-1783* . . . (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Co., 1931), pp. 76, 79, 86, 91, 124, 183, 212.

[13]Brunswick County, Va., Deed Book 4, p. 4.

[14]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 59.

[15]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII (1910), 41.

[16]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 35.

[17]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[18]Research of John Newcomer in Lancaster County, Pa., records.

[19]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 2, p. 157.

[20]Bedford County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 452.

[21]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 56.

[22]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[23]Deed Book 3, pp. 17, 208.

[24]*Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897), Series Three, XX, 54, 177, 313, 439.

[25]Franklin County, Pa., Will Book A, p. 167; Orphans Court Docket A, p. 21, February 4, 1791.

[26]Disposal of the Dougherty land in Pennsylvania is described in Franklin County, Pa., Survey Docket 1, p. 225; Deed Book 2, p. 386; Deed Book 7, p. 181; Deed Book 6, p. 9; Deed Book 5, p. 372.

[27]Fayette County [Kentucky] Circuit Court, Deed Book B, p. 104.

[28]Graves in Andrews graveyard, Fleming County, Ky.

[29]Mason County, Ky., Will Book H, p. 270.

[30]Mason County, Ky., Will Book G, p. 55.

[31]Mason County, Ky., Deed Book 56, p. 60, and personal recollections of John F. Darby, issued in published form in St. Louis.

[32]Fleming County, Ky., Deed Book M, p. 352.

[33]Kentucky Court of Appeals, Frankfort, Ky., Deed Book N, p. 327.

[34]*The Register*, XXXIX, No. 116 (April, 1941), 124.

[35]Fayette County, Ky., Will Book F, p. 113.

[36]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 493.

[37]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 3, p. 407.

[38]Mercer County, Ky., Will Book 4, p. 298.

[39]Bedford and Campbell Counties, Virginia, records.

[40]See also *The Register*, XXIII, No. 68 (May, 1925), 149.

[41]Madison County, Ky., Deed Book E, p. 706.

[42]Franklin County, Pa., Deed Book 4, p. 72.

[43]Cumberland County, Pa., Will Book C, p. 68.

[44]Jefferson County, Ky., Will Book 1, p. 127.

[45]John Carroll Power and Mrs. S. A. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon*

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[13]Brunswick County, Va., Deed Book 4, p. 4.

[14]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 59.

[15]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII (1910), 41.

[16]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 35.

[17]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[18]Research of John Newcomer in Lancaster County, Pa., records.

[19]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 2, p. 157.

[20]Bedford County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 452.

[21]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 56.

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[23]Deed Book 3, pp. 17, 208.

[24]*Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897), Series Three, XX, 54, 177, 313, 439.

[25]Franklin County, Pa., Will Book A, p. 167; Orphans Court Docket A, p. 21, February 4, 1791.

[26]Disposal of the Dougherty land in Pennsylvania is described in Franklin County, Pa., Survey Docket 1, p. 225; Deed Book 2, p. 386; Deed Book 7, p. 181; Deed Book 6, p. 9; Deed Book 5, p. 372.

[27]Fayette County [Kentucky] Circuit Court, Deed Book B, p. 104.

[28]Graves in Andrews graveyard, Fleming County, Ky.

[29]Mason County, Ky., Will Book H, p. 270.

[30]Mason County, Ky., Will Book G, p. 55.

[31]Mason County, Ky., Deed Book 56, p. 60, and personal recollections of John F. Darby, issued in published form in St. Louis.

[32]Fleming County, Ky., Deed Book M, p. 352.

[33]Kentucky Court of Appeals, Frankfort, Ky., Deed Book N, p. 327.

[34]*The Register*, XXXIX, No. 116 (April, 1941), 124.

[35]Fayette County, Ky., Will Book F, p. 113.

[36]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 493.

[37]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 3, p. 407.

[38]Mercer County, Ky., Will Book 4, p. 298.

[39]Bedford and Campbell Counties, Virginia, records.

[40]See also *The Register*, XXIII, No. 68 (May, 1925), 149.

[41]Madison County, Ky., Deed Book E, p. 706.

[42]Franklin County, Pa., Deed Book 4, p. 72.

[43]Cumberland County, Pa., Will Book C, p. 68.

[44]Jefferson County, Ky., Will Book 1, p. 127.

[45]John Carroll Power and Mrs. S. A. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon*

County, Illinois. (Springfield, Ill.: Edwin A. Wilson and Co., 1876), p. 257.

[46]Mason County, Ky., Deed Book A, p. 144.

[47]W. M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri. . .* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., 1897), pp. 220, 262, 347, 633, 850, 987.

A Contribution to The History and Genealogy
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CHAPTER XIV

Capt. Robert Cravens, "Gentleman Justice," and His Family

ROBERT CRAVENS, (1696c-1762), on the first of November, 1729, witnessed a deed of conveyance, of this date, from "Zachariah Grifforth of Kent County, Delaware, yeoman, & Elizabeth his wife," to Samuel Stewart of Sussex County, Delaware, for 224 acres of land, value 59 Pounds. (Deed Book F-7, p. 253, at Georgetown.) On the 3rd of the following February (1729, old style), Samuel Stewart conveyed to Robert Cravens, "for Sixty Pounds Current Money of America," 224 acres of land in Sussex, on the northwest side of Cypress Branch, a tributary of the Broadkill—Broad Creek. (See page 55.) On this Robert and his wife Mary made their home.

(14) MARY HARRISON, (1696-1781), the wife of Robert Cravens, was born at Oyster Bay, Long Island, in the Province of New York, "ye 25th Day of May Annoq Domini 1696." (See pages 23 and 123.) She was the fourth child of Isaiah Harrison (1), the immigrant, and his first wife, Elizabeth Wright. Her childhood was spent at Oyster Bay and at Smithtown, Long Island. She and Robert were married about 1721, or a short time after her removal, with her father, to Maiden Plantation, Sussex on the Delaware.

Robert Cravens died testate in what is now Rockingham County, then Augusta, Virginia, in 1762. His will, as recorded at Staunton, in Will Book No. 3, page 122, reads as follows—

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN, October Ye Second in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Sixty one viz 1761 and I Robert Cravens of the County of Augusta and Colony of Virginia being sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory blessed be God for it and calling to mind the mortality of my body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make and ordain and appoint this as my last Will and Testament that is to Say

first and principally of all I give and Humbly Recommend my soul to God who gave it and my body to the earth to be buried in a Christain like and decent manner at the direction of my loving wife and son John Cravens whom I do make and appoint my whole and sole Executors in this my last will and Testament and as touching such worldly estate as it has pleased God to bless me in this life with I give, devise and dispose of the same in the following manner:

First, I desire all my lawful Debts to be paid which I have legally contracted.

Imprimis, I give and bequeath to Mary, my Dearly beloved Wife one young four year old dapple gray horse and side saddle her own bed and bed cloths and her great and little Wheel five cows and calves ten head of sheep five head of hogs Sixty pounds in cash and all the house hold goods three beds and furniture thereunto (The great iron pot only excepted) and and the negro wench called Knelly during her natural life and at my wifes decease I will the wench shall be sold and if Knelly has any children during my wife's lifetime I will my wife shall give and bequeath them to any of my children that their Mother please and half of my dwelling house and half of my plantation dureing her natural life and five acres of the Great Meadow.

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Item. I give unto my son John Cravens one negro Boy named Tom and the smooth bore gun that he has now in posession to him and his heirs forever.

Item. I gave unto my son William Cravens the tract or parcel of land commonly known by the name of the Great Meadow containing 141 acres (five acres only excepted for his mother) to him and his heirs forever but in case he has no issue it shall become his Brethrens and their heirs forever and sixty pounds in money and forty pounds to be paid by his Brother John for the negro boy named Sip which I will to John but if John refuses to pay the forty pounds the negro Sip shall become Williams, and I allow a receipt for Thirty Seven pounds to be given on a bond that I have of Williams.

Item. I give unto My Daughter Mary the tract or percel of land she now lives on containing 124 acres to her and the heirs begotten of her body forever and one great Iron pot.

Item. I give unto my two Grand Children Zebulon and Robert Harrison that tract or percel of land containing 200 acres lying and being on the East side of Linvills Creek to them and their heirs forever and one negro child called Dina and her increase for them and their heirs forever but I will that my Daughter Margaret Harrison shall have the service of the girl Dina if she desires it during her natural life.

Item. I give unto my Daughter Agnes the tract or percel of land she now lives on to her and her heirs begotten of her own body forever.

Item. I give unto Magie my Daughter sixty pounds in money.

Item. I give unto my son Robert Cravens the half of my dwelling house and half of my plantation I now live on during his Mothers Natural life and at her decease the whole to him and his heirs forever but in case he should die without legitimate male issue the land to become his Brethrens and their heirs forever.

Item. I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Cravens one bay horse with a white foot four year old three cows and calves sixty pounds in money and one negro girl named Venus about six years old and in case she should decease without issue her part to become her sisters to be equally divided among them.

Item. I give unto my grandson Robert Cravens that tract or percel of land containing 160 acres of land commonly known by the name of Wait's Cabbin lying on the Creek below Joseph Cravens to him and his heirs forever but in case he should die without heirs legally begotten of his own body the sd. land shall become his fathers and his heirs forever.

And to his Brother John Cravens my grandson I give ten pounds in cash to help to school him and ten pounds to Mary Black my Grand daughter and the tract of land containing 470 acres of land I will to be sold where Samuel Mowry now lives on.

Item. and all my debts, lega*cis* and funeral charges being first paid I will and desire the remr. of my estate to be divided among my loving wife and nine children John, Agnes and Magee to have two shares for each others one share.

This I trust will be done and all truly fulfilled by my loving wife and son John Cravens whom I do appoint whole and sole Exors. of this my last will and Testament and I do hereby utterly disallow revoke and disannul all and every other former Testaments wills, legacies and Bequests and Executors by me in any ways before this time willed and bequeathed.

Ratifying and confirming this and no other to be my last will and testament in

witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this day and year above written.

his
Robert R Cravens (Seal.)
mark

Signed sealed published pronounced
and declared by the said Robert Cravens
as his last will and testament in the
presence of us the subrs.
viz. Archd. Huston
Matthew Thompson
Daniel Love.

At a Court held for Augusta County May 18th, 1762.
This last will & testament of Robert Craven decd. was proved by the oaths of Archd Huston and Danl Love two of the witnesses and ordered to be recorded and on the motion of Mary and John Craven the Executors therein named who made oath according to law certificate is granted then for obtaining a probat thereof in due form they having with security entered into bond."

Test.

(Original will also on record.)

In his will Robert mentions "nine children," but names only eight. Joseph Cravens is referred to, as owning land near by. Joseph was the unnamed child—Deed, 22nd August, 1768; John Madison to son John, 141 acres called Great Meadow, upon a branch of Cook's Creek . . . . . "lying between the lands of John Cravens and his brother Joseph Cravens," land purchased by John Madison, Sr., 19th March, 1764, "of William Cravens brother of said John and Robert Cravens." (Deed Book XV, p. 148, at Staunton.)

A "Joseph Crauan" (Cravan, Craven), signed as witness, 30th June, 1709, at "Lews Town," to a deed of Edmund Rutter and wife Mary, to Richard Paynter, all of Sussex County, Delaware, for 322 acres of land "partly on Rehobeth Bay Called Marions Neck"— (See, Original deed, Sussex County Delaware Papers, Vol. I, p. 8, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia; also Deed Book A, No. 1, p. 234 —acknowledgement, wherein the names of the witness do not appear—at Georgetown, Delaware.)

This, aside from the references to Robert, is apparently the only other mention of a Cravens on the Sussex records; neither is anything further gleaned from the index to the Colonial wills of the State, at Dover. That the witness was a sea-faring man is probable, and that in some way he was identified with Rutter or Paynter seems assured.

From the fact that not only Robert, but his sister Margaret also, married into the Harrison family of Sussex, indications point strongly to their parents as having been residents of the county, or vicinity, by 1721, and to the brother and sister as having come of age there.

Another early Cravens to locate in Augusta County, Virginia, was one Peter Cravens, who resided in the region of the "North Mountain," and is mentioned along with John Harrison, (Sr.), under date of May 24, 1744. (See page 126.) A reference to Peter also occurs under date of 24th November, 1753, on the Augusta records: ". . . . ordered that a Road be Cleared the nearest and best way from the End of William Curravans Road on his Plantation to William Bryans on Roan Oak and that the said Bryan be Overseer of the same with Peter Craven (and other) Tithables . . . . clear and keep the Sd. Road in repair." (Order Book No. 4, p. 76.)

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In an account manifestly somewhat uncertain as to the time of the migrations, it is stated that Peter Craven, with two brothers, came from England to Pennsylvania, and that "a short time before the Revolutionary War, the Peter Cravens family, together with five other families, removed to North Carolina and settled near Deep River." Peter had "six sons, the eldest of whom was Thomas." Thomas, the account continues, was born August 25, 1742, and died in 1817; but the place of his birth is given as "now Randolph County, North Carolina." (See, booklet, *Genalogy of the Craven and Barker Families,* by John W. and Oscar H. Cravens, 1913, printed by The World-Courier of Bloomington, Indiana.)

SOME EARLY CRAVEN FAMILIES

CRAVEN was a name of prominence and antiquity in England, and particularly well known in London, where one of the name had twice been the Lord Mayor of the City. An interesting epitaph of Sir William Craven, Kt., of Winwick, Northamptonshire, who died in 1707, aged 73 years, is preserved in Bridge's *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire,* 1791, (page 602). This recites that the deceased was the "youngest son of Thomas Craven of Appletreewick near Skipton in Craven in County York and *Margaret* his wife. He was the grandson by his father's side of Anthony Craven. He was grandson by his mother's side of *Robert Craven.* He was great-grandson by his father's side of William Craven, and great-grandson by the mother's side of Henry Craven, which Henry Craven was a brother to Sir William Craven, Kt., twice Lord Mayor of the City of London . . . . ." etc.

The Lord Mayor of London died in 1618, possessed of a vast fortune. He had sons William (1608-1697), and John (d. 1648), both of whom were created barons, the title being conferred on William in 1624. John was the founder of Oxford and Cambridge Scholarships. In 1664, William was created an earl, and dying unmarried, the baroncy passed to his cousin William, from whose brother, John, the present title is descended. William, the first Earl of Craven, like Lord Culpeper, contributed large sums to the aid of Charles II while in exile, and following the Restoration was in turn the recipient of many favors from the Crown, one of them being his appointment as one of the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas, from which circumstance Old Craven County, South Carolina, (erected 1674 as one of the original four counties), and present Craven County, North Carolina, derived their names.

Among the early immigrants to America,, Hotten lists Richard Craven under "Patents granted Settlers in Virginia," 1626, and Thomas Craven, aged 17 years, as licensed to go beyond the seas to Virginia, 24th July, 1635, "imbargoed in the Assurance of London." *(Hotten,* pp. 272, 112.) James Craven of 1639, and Thomas of 1642, appear in Greer's lists as immigrants to Virginia, also, but the earliest of the name in the Colonies to leave known descendants seems to have been the widow Ann Craven, who settled under Fenwick, in Old Salem, New Jersey, about 1677.

On "the Tenth day of the Seventh Moth Commonly called September In the yeare by the English Act. One thousand Sixe hundred seventie and nyne." John Fenwick, the Proprietor of Salem Tenth, executed a deed, "for and in consideration of the sume on Nyne pounds good and Lawfull money of England, to . . . Ann Craven late of lyme house in the parish of Stepency in the Countie of Middl. (sex) Wthin the said Kingdome of England and now of the Towne of New Salem in the said colony (New Jersey) widow," for 300 acres of land, "to be called Cravens Choyce," on "Munmouth River heretofore called Allowayes Creek." (See, Salem Deeds, Liber B, p. 67, at Secretary of State's Office, in Capitol at Trenton, N. J.)

the Tenth and Province of West Jersey, executors of John Fenwick, of Fenwick's Colony, Esq., late Proprietor of Salem Tenth, etc. (Salem Deeds, at Trenton.)

This conveyance apparently refers to the Robert Craven of the "evidence" above. Salem land, however, had been long known in London, and Richard may have been an executor, or a brother, of Robert. As related by Thomas Shourds, "in 1676 the wife of John Smith of Amesbury wrote to her sister Rachel, and her husband Richard Craven . . . . . advising them to come to America, which they accordingly did and landed at New Castle (Delaware) in 1690 and came to Salem the same year." (See, Our Early Settlers—Salem Historical Society, also *Cravens Choyce* above.)

For more than a century, says Sharp, the Cravens "were prominent citizens in the public affairs of Salem." Neither did they long remain Quakers.

Thomas Craven was deeded 200 acres of land, near the head of Alloway's Creek, by Bagley, April 15th, 1687, and in 1696, and 1698, bought other tracts. (Salem Deeds, Books 3, p. 259; 6, p. 104, and 7, p. 213.) His will dated 13th September, 1721, and proven 23rd December, 1730, names a son Nehemiah under age, and daughters Elizabeth, Rachel, and Ann. Nehemiah, of Cumberland County, in will of April 22, 1749, proven May 10, 1749, names minor children Thomas and Mary. *(Calendar of N. J. Wills,* Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. II, p. 123.)

Peter Craven, "husbandman," on October 18th, 1697, was assigned land by Bagley and wife Elizabeth. (Salem Deeds, Book 6, p. 192.) He left no will in New Jersey, and apparently died at Salem without issue. He was born in 1671, and is mentioned as late as 1734 in the settlement of Thomas Crabb's estate, of Salem, May 27, this year. "Wm Allen and Joseph Turner merchants of Philadelphia have paid debts due . . . . Daniel Smith, . . . Peter Cravin . . . " etc. *(Calendar N. J. Wills,* Vol. I; p. 115.) Other incidental references to him appear in the 1727-1742 minute book of Salem court.

Richard Craven, son of the 1690 immigrant to Salem, in will of 27th October, 1748, proven 15th November, 1748, names wife Patience, and sons, John and Wheat, under 15 years, and daughters, Grace and Rachel, under 16. *(Calendar N. J. Wills,* Vol. II, p. 123) John Craven, of Salem, m. April 18, 1764, Phoebe Smith, and Richard Wheat Craven, of Cumberland, m. October 10th, 1766, Rhoda Shepherd. *(Archives of N. J.,* 1st Series, Vol. 22, p. 79.) The daughter Rachel is said to have married Joseph, the son of Richard and Mary Pledger Woodnut.

One of the sons of Richard, the immigrant, according to Shourds, settled in Delaware. John and Ann Craven are mentioned in the will of David Stewart, of New Castle, Delaware, 13th November, 1776, proven 24th December, the same year. Ann was the daughter of Stewart. (See, *Calendar Delaware Wills,* 1682-1800, *New Castle Co.,* by Colonial Dames of Del., p. 83.)

A somewhat later Craven immigrant to New Jersey was Thomas Craven, who arrived in 1728, and settled in Monmouth County. He was by occupation a classical and mathematical teacher. He married Elizabath Walling, of Monmouth, and became the father of a large number of children, including four sons, Thomas, John, Gershom, and Joseph, all of whom left descendants. Thomas early in life setled in Ohio. John sometime before the Revolution entered the employ of Robert Morris, the great financier, and following the war was in the civil service of the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, and later of the Government at Washington, where he died in 1831. Gershom graduated at Princeton, in 1765, and located at Ringoes as a physician. Two of his descendants were Commander (later Admiral) Thomas T. Craven, and his brother, Commander Augustus M. Craven, of the U. S. Navy, both

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of whom served under Farragut in the War between the States. Alfred W. Craven, another brother, was for many years chief engineer of the Croton Aqueduct Department of New York city. (See, *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, N. J.*, by Shaw, Vol. I, p. 471.)

Commander Thomas T. Craven married a daughter of Dr. Thomas Henderson, U. S. Army, and wife Anna Maria Truxton, and in 1858 was living in Staunton, Virginia, where on October 19th, this year, at the residence of her son-in-law, the widow Henderson died. *(New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* Vol. XII, p. 91.)

To Pennsylvania, some time between the years 1700 and 1723, immigrated one Jacobus (James) Craven, said to have been of Holland descent. He settled in Bucks County, where he became a large landowner in Warminster township. In 1743 he was one of the trustees of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church, of Warwick. He died about 1760. His children were, Thomas, Giles, James, Alice, wife of Herman Vansent, Elenor, wife of Clement Dungan, Hannah, wife of William McDowell, (married 11th, 11th mo., 1738, at 1st Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia), Esther, wife of William Gilbert, and Mary, wife, of Anthony Stout. Thomas married Lena, daughter of William and Janet Bennett. (One of this name also married Catherine, daughter of Peter Van Horn, and is mentioned in the will of Peter, 1749.) Giles died without issue, James migrated to Loudoun County, Virginia, married, and had a son John, who in 1800 settled at Charlottesville, where he became a prominent citizen, and raised a large family. (See, *History of Bucks County Pa.,* by Davis, Vol. III, p. 247; Abstracts of Bucks Co. Pa. Wills, 1685-1795, pp. 136 and 201, at Historical Society of Pa.; *Pa. Archives,* Vol. IX, p. 16, Record of Pa. Marriages prior to 1810—Vol. II; *History of Albemarle Co., Va.,* by Woods, p. 173.)

* * * * * *

Among the earlier of these Cravens of the Augusta settler's day, only the name Joseph—whatever its significance—is found common to any of Robert's sons. Joseph of "Lews Town," 1709, was probably his father, and may have been the immigrant, or a son of Richard, the 1690 immigrant to Salem, but nothing for a certainty, is known as to this, or of the location of Robert's birthplace. Richard, the 1690 immigrant, was married by 1676, according to the date given of the receipt of his sister-in-law's letter in London, and had a son who settled in Delaware, but Richard of Salem, son of the immigrant, and brother of the Delaware settler, would seem to have been somewhat young for Joseph's generation. No Richard appears on the Augusta records, neither is any relationship known to have existed between Robert and Peter of Augusta, whoever the latter may have been.

An old tradition said to have been handed down in John Craven's family naming him as a Scotch-Irishman, would seem to intimate that Robert, his father, was a native of Ulster, as certainly the son was not. Englishmen, as well as Scotchmen, had settled in this Province, and there was much emigration from there to Delaware in the period of Robert's childhood.

Cravens were settled in the neighborhood of Londonderry prior to 1663; Baptism, August 24th, 1663; "James ye son of William Baxter; James Ruddy, James Cravens & Agnes Donnell goss." (gossips.) (*Dublin Parish Register Society,* Vol. 8, Derry Cathedral. Parish of Templemore, Londonderry, p. 155.) James resided at Coleraine.

Robert and his sister, if not born in the lower region of the Delaware, were likely brought to Sussex as immigrant children by their parents. It is barely possible, of

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course, that Robert as an adult may have immigrated to Delaware, and following his marriage imported his sister, but this appears doubtful.

Robert bought his land in Delaware of Samuel Stewart, and later in Augusta was associated with one of this name, along with John and Daniel Harrison, in laying out the Indian Road (1745). Following Joseph Harrison's death in Augusta, in 1748, a sale of Joseph's property was held at the house of Samuel Stewart, by Jeremiah Harrison. (See pages 2, and 154.) In September, 1747, David Stewart, of Augusta, brought suit at law against William Harrison. *(Chalkley* Vol. I, p. 296.) Also, March 20, 1755, Daniel Harrison furnished bond as guardian of John Scott, an orphan, with sureties David Stewart and Robert McClenachan. (Page 204.) On August 22, 1745, the court of Orange appointed Jeremiah Harrison, constable, in place of Thomas Stewart, (Page 127.) John Stewart, on February 17, 1761, purchased of Jeremiah Harrison, and Catherine, 275 acres of land on Cook's Creek. (Deed Book 9, p. 217.)

David Stewart of New Castle County, Delaware, who died in 1776, leaving will naming sons, Samuel and David, and a daughter Ann Craven (wife of John, one of the witnesses of the will ?) and "her children" may have been a kinsman of the Sussex and Augusta Stewarts. Stewarts appear to have been in Sussex at an early date—"The Court grant unto John Struate four Hundred Acres of Land warrent given out the—12 mo. 1682." *(Rodney's Diary and Other Delaware Records; Georgetown Records, Deal Court* 1681, p. 115.)

On May 16, 1732, "Robert (R) Cravins" witnessed a deed of Mary Kollock, widow of "Jacob Kollock of Sussex upon Delaware, Esqr," Jean Hirons, Capt. Jacob Phillips, and Hester his wife, children and heirs of the said Jacob Kollock, deceased, all of Sussex, to George Campble (Campbell) of the same county, "Cooper," for land on the north side of "Love Long Branch that runs into Rehobeth Bay." (Sussex Deed Book GN-7, p. 40, at Georgetown, Del.)

Whatever Robert's birthplace, whether in Great Britain, or on the Delaware, he was associated in Sussex with people of influence and means, and came to the Valley of the Shenandoah well supplied with funds for the adventure. He is found first mentioned on the Orange records as Robert Cravens, Gent., at which time, 29th July, 1743, he appeared along with Daniel Harrison, Gent., before the court, and was sworn into "his Military Commission of Captain of Horses." (See page 126.) That he was of good report and well recommended is further attested by his being commissioned one of the "Gentlemen Justices" for the first court of Augusta, by Governor Gooch, 30th October, 1745. (See page 142.)

Robert's removal from Delaware to Orange, later Augusta County, Virginia, occurred about the year 1739. On the 1st of June, this year, he placed his Sussex land in the hands of his attorney, James Hood, for sale. (See page 64.) Like his brothers-in-law, who had preceeded him, he found on his arrival west of the Massanutten that there was no need for undue haste in choosing a site for his new home. His first land patent is dated in 1744. In all, he and his sons were granted some 2, 513 acres of land, in ten patents, as follows—

To ROBERT CRAVENS

Date	Acres	Location	Book	No.	Page
15th. March, 1744,	400	"on the Head of the dry Fork of Smith Creek and bounded as followeth to Wit . . . to a black Oak on the north West Side of the Irish Road . . . ."	22		207.

15th March, 1744	400	"on a North Branch of the North River of Shenando called Cooks Creek in the East Fork of the said Creek"	22	209.
10th. Feb., 1748,	200	"on both sides of Cooks Creek including Dyes (Dyers) meadow."	27	115.
" " "	136	"on the Drafts of the South Branch of Linvilles Mill Creek, corner Samuel Harrison."	27	116.
" " "	123	"on the Head of Cooks Creek"	27	118.
" " "	169	"on both sides of Cooks Creek corner survey of James Fisher."	27	120.
10th. Sept., 1755,	300	"on a Branch of Cooks Creek, corner Samuel Harrison"	31	610
16th. Aug., 1756,	320	"on the Head of Custiss Creek a branch of the North River Shenando."	33-1	79.
TOTAL	2,048			

To JOHN CRAVENS

10th. Sept., 1755,	400	"on both sides of Cooks Creek above a Tract of Land belonging to Robert Cravens"	31	700.

To WILLIAM CRAVENS

15th. June, 1773,	65	"on some Drafts of Cooks Creek . . . bounded as followeth . . . to a pine on John Cravens line . . . corner to John Maddison's land."	41-1	322.

(See, Patent Books, numbers as above, at Land Office, Richmond, Virginia.)

In addition to the above tracts, Capt. Cravens purchased for £40-4, 670 acres of land on the "north side of Linville's Creek", 19th June, 1746, of "McKay, Hite, Green, and the said Green sole heir exr. of Wm. Duff," part of "7009 acres granted Robert McKay, Just Hite, Wm. Duff, Robert Green, Gent.,by patent 26th March, 1739"—Delivered to John Cravens (executor) 1762. Also some time prior to 1760, Robert purchased of "Epipha Fowler", 165 acres on the "South Side of the North Branch of Shenando River, against the mouth of Fort run," which land he and wife Mary deeded to John Halpe, 18th August, 1760. (Deed Book 8, p. 426.)

Robert and his brother-in-law, Thomas Harrison, the founder of Harrisonburg, settled as near neighbors; their first patents were granted on the same day, and their lands were practically adjacent. Thomas' first surveys are dated December 18th, and 19th, 1739, and evidently Robert's were also made about this time. Robert's Dry Fork tract was located as early, at least, as August, 1741, and joined Robert Harrison's line of the later Smithland estate, to the northeast of Harrisonburg. (See pages 195 and 211.)

The head spring of the Dry Fork is commonly called Flook's Spring, but a small tributary of the fork rises further to the south, and directly to the east of Harrisonburg, and it was on this somewhere, manifestly, that Robert's land lay. The old tradition of the Harrisons mentions one of the brothers as having early located at the spring, and probably Robert had camped at it for a time also. The Irish Road mentioned in Robert's first patent was first known as Daniel Harrison's path, in the Linville Creek neighborhood, and apparently led across the country via the Dry Fork region to the early Swift Run Gap Road. (See pages 147 and 196.)

By far the greater part of Capt. Cravens land was located on the waters of Cook's Creek, to the south of Thomas, and it was in this direction that he settled. Some of his Cook's Creek land joined Samuel Harrison, but his first tract was nearer Jeremiah —"Land Entry Book No. 1, Augusta County, 7th December, 1745, Jeremiah Harrison, 100 acres, south side Cook's Creek, joining Robert Craven's land." *(Chalkley,* Vol. II, p. 379.) In 1761, February 18th, Jeremiah Harrison and Catherine deeded to Thomas Harrison, for 20 pounds, 120 acres by patent . . . 1760, "on the east draft of Cook's Creek, ... joining Robert Craven." (Deed Book 9, p. 151.) This last was embraced in Thomas' 1290 acre patent, of 1773, for his land at Harrisonburg. (See page 220.)

Robert's home was on the "Great Road" of 1755, today's Long Grey Trail, and was probably within a mile or two of the present southern limits of Harrisonburg.

The Captain was evidently one of the first inhabitants to accomodate "Valley tourists"—14th April, 1746, "License is Granted to Robert Craven Gent. to keep Ordinary at his House he having Paid the Governors fee & with John Lewis and Robert Pickens Gentlemen his securities Acknowledge their Bond for the same which is Admd. to record." (Order Book No. 1, p. 22.) On the 20th of August, 1747, the court appointed Robert Cravens and Samuel Wilkins road overseers, vice Alexander Herron, Thomas and Jeremiah Harrison, "from the Court House (Staunton) *to the Indian Road near said Cravens.*" (See page 7.)

The day license was granted him to keep an ordinary, Capt. Cravens declined the honor of reappointment as a justice under the Governor's forthcoming commission of June 13, 1746. (Order Book 1, p. 68.) Shortly thereafter he bought his 670 acres of land on Linville's Creek, and from this time on his activities were mainly those of a large land owner, but his interest in public affairs continued. His appointment as a road overseer in 1747 was followed on September 3rd, the same year, by his appointment as processioner, along with Thomas Harrison, from Samuel Wilkins to the Fairfax line, etc. (See page 221.)

In all this while his land in Delaware had remained unsold, although provision for the sale had been made in 1739. His witnesses thereto, in the meantime, having died, on the 24th of December, 1747, as a resident of the "County of Augusta and Collony of Virginia" he renewed Hood's power of attorney with new witnesses; doubtless journeying himself back to Delaware for this purpose. On the 3rd of the following Feburary, through Hood, he deeded his Sussex land to Robert Talbert, of the same county, for "ninety Pounds Current money of the Province of Pennsylvania." (See page 63.)

In many of his services to Augusta, Robert was associated with his brothers-in-law, the Harrisons and Alexander Herring. His appraisement of Peter Dyer's estate with Thomas and Jeremiah Harrison, in 1749, and of Charles Gallagher's estate, with Jeremiah and Daniel Harrison, in 1750, have been mentioned in previous Chapters. (See pages 147 and 221.) On the 29th of August, 1751, he and Daniel were named again,—"Daniel Harrison & Henry Smith having according to an Order of this Court laid a way from the South branch (of Shenandoah or Linville's Creek?) to Swift run Pass, It is Ordered that Robert Craven and James Bally be surveyors of the same, and that the said Harrison lay off their Precints & appoint the Tithable persons that shall clear the same." (Order Book 3, p. 187.)

Henry Smith was a brother of Capts. Abraham and Daniel Smith, the later first justices of Rockingham court, and a son of Capt. John Smith, the pioneer. Henry, a son of Capt. Abraham, and Benjamin, a son of Capt. Daniel, married sisters, respectively,

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Margaret and Elizabeth Cravens, Capt. Robert Cravens' granddaughters, sometimes confused with his own daughters, Maggie and Elizabeth, but evidently the daughters of his son Robert, Jr. (See, *Boogher*, pp. 336, 347, and 379.) Henry Smith, son of Capt. Abraham, was not born until 1758, nor Benjamin, his cousin, until 1761. Henry and his wife Margaret were married April 2, 1792. Elizabeth, the wife of Benjamin Smith, was born in 1762, and died in 1837. She and her husband married about 1782-3. He died in 1812. Both lie buried in the old Methodist churchyard at Lancaster, Ohio. *(Ibid*, pp. 338, 347, and Marriage Records of Rockingham County, Va.)

As an appraiser of land values Capt. Cravens was manifestly highly regarded, the court naming him twice at the same term, 27th November, 1751. First—along with his son John, and Daniel Stringer, to value the improvements made by James Wood, Gent. on 400 acres of his Muddy Creek land. Second—"On the motion of John Harrison for a View and Valuation of the Improvements by him made on four hundred acres of Land on the Dry Fork of Smith's Creek, It is Ordered that Robert Craven, Michael Warren & Alexander Herron (Herring) or any two of them being first Sworn before a Justice of the Peace of this County do meet to Value the Same having regard to expenses and make report of their proceedings to the next Court." (Order Book 3, pp. 203, and 207.)

These valuations were to establish record that the conditions of the patents to the land had been complied with; no controversy being involved, the relationship of the viewers to the owners was manifestly no bar to appointment. Both Cravens and Herring were brothers-in-law of Harrison, and Warren was his close friend.

Wolves at the time were yet infesting the country, and a bounty had long been offered for their heads. For the head of an old one Robert Cravens and Hugh Campbell were paid 160 pounds of tobacco, at this sitting of the court. *(Ibid*, p. 204.) Although now past military age the Captain doubtless was still familiar with his gun—that he treasured it highly is assured by his passing it on to his son John, when he came to make his will.

John Cravens—styled "John Cravens eldest son & heir & executor of Robert Cravens, farmer, deceased," in a joint deed to Archibald Huston, 8th August 1767, from himself, "& Mary Cravens, widow and executrix of Robert," conveying 470 acres of land of the testator's Linville Creek purchase, "corner to tract devised to Zebulon and Robert Harrison," etc.—was the first born of Robert and Mary. (Deed Book 13, p. 373.) He was born about 1722, in Sussex on the Delaware, being aged "45 or thereabouts" in 1767, according to a deposition made by him 16th December, this year. (See page 144.)

John and William Cravens at different times served as tax collectors of the county; John in 1748, and William in 1755. Both were also constables. John's first land was obtained by purchase 21st February, 1751; Deed, John Wright and Lydia his wife, to John Cravens, 40 Pounds, 200 acres on a branch of Cook's Creek, land formerly conveyed to Wright by Samuel Harrison and wife, Mary. Teste, Peter Scholl and Samuel Newman. (Deed Book 3, p. 97.)

On the same day Robert and Mary Cravens, with Scholl and Newman as their witnesses, also deeded the first 400 acre tract patented in 1744, to Wright, this being Robert's first conveyance in Augusta. He signed as in Delaware, with his characteristic "R" mark, and Mary with a simple plus mark.

Wright, as elsewhere observed, was undoubtedly a near kinsman of Mary Cravens. Samuel Harrison was her half-brother. James Wright on the 16th August, 1756, patented 175 acres "on the head of the Dry Fork of Smith's Creek, on the east side

of a Tract of Land belonging to Robert Cravens." (Patent Book 33-1,p. 109, Land Office, Richmond, Virginia.) This land later descended to John Wright, the surviving heir, and was devised by him to James Wright, Jr. *(Chalkley,* Vol. III, p. 547.) John Wright and John Cravens in 1757 were associated together in owning land near James.

Cravens appears to have settled on his Cook's Creek land, a few miles southwest of his father, near a place called Fisher's Spring. As several of his children when small attended school at the spring, along with one or two of Benjamin Harrison's children, his plantation manifestly was not far from present Dayton.

James Fisher was probably the first owner of the spring. One of this name was an early acquaintance of the Harrisons in Delaware (see page 51.), and assuredly James of Augusta, in the early days of the county, was no new acquaintance of the elder Cravens. In 1744, while preparing to remove from Augusta, Fisher sold 350 acres of land, on Cook's Creek, to Abraham Potter, arranging with Robert Cravens to give Potter a good title. Potter agreed to make payment, at the request of Fisher and Cravens, by the last of August 1745.

Potter was from an old Sussex, Delaware, family early known to the Fishers of this county, his grandfather, Abraham Potter (Sr.), having bought land on the north side of Broad Creek, in Sussex, of Thomas Fisher and Charles Bright, in 1696. Abraham, Sr.'s widow, Jane, in will 1703, proved 1704, names son Abraham about 14 years old, and friends Frances Gum, Richard Dobson, and "John Davises son John." Abraham, 2nd, died in Sussex in 1742, leaving will dated March 27th, this year, naming wife Mary, and sons John, Joshua and Abraham (above), and a daughter Jane Russell—Witnesses, John Stuart and Enoch Cummings. (Sussex Deeds, Book A-1, p. 147; Wills, Book A-1 pp. 48, and 331.)

Following the sale of his Augusta land, James Fisher "went to Carolina." Potter failed to pay, and instead signed a new bond to Robert Cravens in 1745. In May, 1753, the matter was brought to court for adjustment. (See page 134.)

John Cravens married, sometime between 1758 and 1762, Margaret, the widow of William Dyer. On 15th September, 1758, Henry Smith signed Thomas Fulton's bond as security for Margaret Dyer. Following her marriage to John Cravens the latter assigned the bond to his father Robert. (Augusta Court Judgements, October, 1765, D; Henry Smith vs. Samuel Cowden.) In 1762 "John Cravens and Margaret his wife, late Margaret Dyer administratrix of William Dyer, deceased," brought a bill of complaint vs. Charles Wilson, regarding payment of a bond of Wilson to Dyer, dated 24th December, 1752. (Augusta Court Judgements A, 1762.) On the 20th March, 1765, Cravens was appointed guardian of Roger and John Dyer, "infant orphans of William Dyer, deceased." (Order Book 9, p. 248.)

Margaret was the daughter of John and Margaret Hiatt. The Hiatts were Quakers, and are said to have come in from the British Isles. John Hiatt, Sr. and his son John were both granted land by Lord Fairfax between the years 1759 and 1762. (See, Fairfax Grants; Book K, pp. 260, 261, 299, and 302, Land Office, Richmond, Va.,)

The name Margaret was a popular one in Robert Cravens' family. Besides his sister, the wife of Capt. Daniel Harrison, one of Robert's own daughters was of this name.

Margaret Cravens, the daughter of Robert, was likely the first of his children to be married, and was evidently near her brother John in age. Her first husband was a Primrose, and her second Zebulon Harrison, the son of John Harrison, Sr. (Chapter XI), whom she married at the First Presbyterian Church, Morristown, New Jersey, 23rd

July, 1747. (See page 164.) Various Primroses are mentioned on the old records of the church at Morristown—Mary, in 1745, m. James Watkins; Henry, in 1748, m. Rebbeca Stites; John, d. 1756, aged 89; Henry, d. 1780, aged 70, etc.—and doubtless Margaret's first husband had been a resident of the neighborhood. The town was settled about 1700, and the county formed from Hunterdon in 1739.

"Mage," Madge or Maggie Cravens, sister of Margaret, was also early married, her daughter being Mary Black, one of the grandchildren named in her father's will. She herself, by the will, was devised sixty pounds in money. In her brother John's settlement of their father's estate, "approved and recorded," 21st September, 1763, mention in his account is made of, "Legacy to Robert Black in part of his wife's legacy." (Will Book 3, p. 288; *Chalkley*, Vol. III, p. 81.) None of Maggie's sisters having a husband of this name, Black is identified as that of her own. He was doubtless the witness, along with Robert Cravens and Samuel Hemphill, of Gardiner's conveyance of Dry Fork land to John Cravens and John Wright. (See page 209.) On 11th August, 1766, "William Cravens, Robert Black, and Magey ( ) Black," witnessed a deed of "Samuel Stewart & Lydia, of North Carolina, yeoman," to Jacob Calpin of Augusta, conveying 153 acres on the South Fork of Linville's Creek, patented to Samuel, 5th September, 1749. On the 3rd September, 1766, "Robert Black & Magey ( ) of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina," deeded to Martin Archenbright 232 acres on Cook's Creek, patented to Thomas Stevenson, 25th June, 1747, and conveyed to Robert 22nd June, 1763. (Deed Book 13, pp. 56, and 143.)

Several Blacks were early in Augusta. Rev. William Black, a Presbyterian minister, on 22nd May, 1747, appeared before the court and took the prescribed oaths. He lived in Pennsylvania, and in 1758 was a member of Donegal Persbytery. *(Waddell*, p. 62.) Maggie's husband likely came in from this direction also. His father was probably Robert Black, Sr. On the 18th February, 1746, Elizabeth Skilleren was appointed administratrix of her husband William, deceased, with sureties Robert Black and John Miller. Robert Black, Sr., and Robert Black, Jr., furnished bond for affiance of Elizabeth Anderson, "formerly the widow Skilran," 27th January, 1748. On 19th May, the same year, Robert Black (Sr. ?) deeded to John Miller 200 acres, on the Beverly Manor line, corner to William Skilleren, part of Beverly Manor, formerly conveyed by Beverly to Black, 25th September, 1741. *(Chalkley*, Vol. I, p. 432; Vol. III, pp. 6, and 268.)

Whether or not Robert and his wife Maggie, nee Cravens, settled permanently in North Carolina is unknown. In Thomas Harrison's inclusive patent of 1773, to his land at Harrisonburg, "Black's line" is mentioned. Black joined Harrison on the north. His land was on Black's Run, a headwater of the East Fork of Cook's Creek. Through Harrisonburg the run and the fork together form a continous stream, locally known by the name of the run, but strictly speaking the juncture of the waters is alongside the old Head Spring in the center of the town. (See page 219.)

Joseph Cravens, although not specifically named in his father's will, nevertheless received a bequest under it, due to its residuary clause; Robert including his "loving wife and *nine* children" in this. Several years before signing his will Robert had given Joseph what he doubtless considered his share of his land: Deed, April 20, 1759, "Robert Cravens to his son Joseph Cravens," 300 acres "on a branch of Cook's Creek," corner Samuel Harrison; the consideration being a nominal amount, five shillings. The next day, for 50 Pounds, Robert deeded to Joseph another 300 acres "on a branch of Cook's Creek," corner Samuel Harrison, Teste, Samuel Hemphill, John ( ) Jones. (Deed Book 8, pp. 126, 127.) Under date of February 21, 1763, in the cause of

Malcom Campbell vs. Joseph Cravens, the notation occurs that the suit "Abates by death of Defendant." *(Chalkley,* Vol. I, p. 104.) The first tract of land in August, 1772, was delivered to Robert Cravens, probably a son of William, and of the second, on the 11th and 18th, October, 1773, Joseph Cravens, probably a son of William also, conveyed to John Cravens, two tracts; each for 60 Pounds, each embracing 150 acres on "one of the branches of Cook's Creek, and each a part of the tract patented to Robert Cravens, 10th September, 1755. Some of Joseph's land also included a part of the 200 acres patented by his father (Robert) 10th February, 1748. (Deed Book 20, pp. 2, and 182.)

In his will Robert Cravens names two of his grandchildren, Robert and John Cravens, identifying them as brothers. One of these grandsons was bequeathed land lying below Joseph Cravens, but no mention is made of Joseph being their father. In the deeds disposing of the above 300 acres of land, in 1773, no wife signed with Joseph, the younger. These grandsons appear to have been the sons of William Cravens, who is said to have had sons Robert, James, John, and Joseph. Among the children of 1788, attending the school at Fisher's Spring before referred to, were Joseph and James Cravens, sons of John. Jeremiah and William Cravens, sons of Robert, Jr., about the same time, attended a school at Harrisonburg. Nehemiah Cravens, another son of Robert, Jr., was also among the grandchildren of Robert, Sr. living at the time. On December 20th, 1802, in the presence of A. Waterman and Peachy Harrison of Rockingham County, "Nehemiah Cravens of Ohio County in the State of Virginia," appointed Reuben Harrison, and Joseph Cravens (son of John), of Rockingham, his lawful attorneys, to sell four tracts of land, three of which contained inclusively 1,618 acres "surveyed for me in the month of August last in the County of Ohio . . . . . on Wheelin Creek about twelve miles from the mouth thereof," the fourth, "lying in the County of Rockingham, ... and in the waters of the east branch of Cook's Creek," embracing 113 1/2 acres, etc.—Presented March Court, 1805. (Rockingham Deed Book "OO", p. 248.)

William Cravens, son of Robert, was undoubtedly married at the time of his father's will. His wife, according to Boogher, was Jane ———. William, his nephew (b. 1766), the son of John Cravens, had a wife of this name, having married (1794) Jane Harrison, daughter of Benjamin, son of Capt. Daniel. William, the elder, served as a sergeant in the French and Indian War, his name appearing among the lists of Augusta's soldiers, first under Lieut. Abraham Smith, next under Lieut Daniel Smith, and later under Capt. Ephraim Love, in the Act of Assembly passed March, 1756, granting pay for the various services rendered. *(Hening,* Vol. 7, pp. 179-200.) Among others granted pay by the same act were Capt. Abraham Smith, Lieut. Sampson Archer, John Cravens, Joseph Dictum, Robert Black, Samuel Hemphill, Mathew Black, Leonard Herring, John Harrison, Gideon Harrison, Nathaniel Harrison, etc., most of whom, including Sergeant Cravens, were also later named in an act of 1758. (See page 182.) In 1759, William was promoted to an Ensign,—23rd November, this year, "William Cravens took the Usual Oaths to his Majesty's person and Government Subscribed the Abjuration and Test which is Ordered to be Certified on his commission of Ensign of the Militia." (Order Book 6, p. 335.) Following the close of the war William evidently went on a journey of some distance, probably with George Anderson as his companion, the two being mentioned together under date of 29th September, 1764, as "going out of the Colony." (County Court Judgements, March 1767 (A); "John Pharis vs. Daniel Harrison"), *(Chalkley,* Vol . I, p. 350.) In 1773 he patented land on Cook's Creek, adjoining his brother John, and in this region doubtless made his

ing in 1787. One account states that one of Capt. Cravens' daughters, either Elizabeth, Maggie, or Agnes, married William Horton. (See, *D. A. R. Magazine*, Vol. 61, No. 2, p. 151.) Horton may have been Elizabeth's second husband.

Capt. Robert Cravens, the pioneer, and Justice of the first Court of Augusta County, died, as revealed by the proving of his will, in the spring of 1762, during the French and Indian War. In the previous autumn when he signed his will he was in failing health, from which apparently he never rallied. By his passing Old Augusta lost one of her noble company of first settlers, whose descendants were to add further luster to her name, and whose children's children, like those of so many others, were to go forth from Virginia to help "make other states great."

By his will Capt. Cravens appointed his wife Mary, and his son John, his executrix and executor, who on the 18th May, 1762, the day of the proving of his will, gave bond, with Edward Shankland and Andrew Erwin, for 2,000 Pounds. On the 5th July, 1762, his estate was appraised by Matthew Thompson, Archibald Huston, and John Stewart, the appraisement being recorded 17th August, the same year. (Will Book 3, p. 162.) Among the various movables listed were the following—

71 head of live stock, consisting of 3 horses, 2 mares, 2 colts, 2 oxen, 8 steers, 10 yearlings, 10 cows, 6 calves, 4 heifers, 11 sheep, and 13 hogs.

To 1 smoothe case gun . . . . . one ax . . . . . 1 pair stilyards
1 dressed buck skin
1 waggon
1 bed stead and furniture
1 bed-stead
1 bedstead and furniture
Ditto
Ditto
1 old couch . . . . . 1 chest . . . . . 1 box and chest
a table and cloth . . . . a looking glass, brush and strap
1 table . . . 6 chairs . . . . 1 Bible . . . . 10 books.
8 spoons & 1 doz. plates . . . . . a parcel of knives and forks.
4 small basons, ... 4 Pewter Basons . . . . . 5 porringers
31 pewter plates . . . . . 4 pewter dishes . . . . . 6 wooden plates .
1 brass kettle . . . . .. 6 tins . . . . a pint & ½ pint pot.
various articles of apparel (of the deceased) including one "white collourd coat"
1 Negro boy Tom
1 negro wench
1 Negro girl Venie
1 Negro girl Dine
1 Negro boy Sippio
a bond due by Robt. McGerry and Jeremiah Harrison 25-00-00
Cash 47-9-3½
Total £573-15-10

Mary Cravens, the widow of Robert, being bequeathed her share of his estate for her use "during her natural life," a final settlement of the whole under his will could not be made until after her decease. A partial settlement, by John Cravens, was approved and admitted to record, 21st September, 1763. (See page 262.) In this, mention is made of payments to Samuel Hemphill, Robert Cravens (Jr.), William Cravens, John Stewart, Matthew Black, Patrick and John Frazier, Margaret Perkey,

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Patrick Given, William Minter, and John Brown. Also. "to Cash paid the widow Mary," to "Cash paid John Cravens," to "Legacy of negro delivered to Zebulon Harrison for his two sons," to "Legacy to Elizabeth Cravens," and to the legacy paid Robert Black, etc.

In 1767 the Linville Creek land devised by Capt. Cravens to be sold was so disposed of. John Cravens and Margaret ( ) his wife, on the 15th March, this year, conveyed to Robert Bellshie, Jr., 230 acres "on the North East side of Linville's Creek," corner to George Speec, and to the tract bequeathed Zebulon and Robert Harrison, part of 670 acres devised by Robert Cravens, who by his will "appointed said John his Executor" to sell "this lot". (Deed Book 14, p. 127.) A part of this 230 acre tract was doubtless owned by John Cravens in his own right, thus the signature of Margaret. On the 8th August, following, John Cravens and his mother, Mary, conveyed to Archibald Huston 470 acres, part of the 670, this being the tract on which Samuel Mowry lived at the time of the testator's will. (See page 260.)

This last conveyance seems to have been in view of an arrangement made by John Cravens to acquire the same land, or a tract adjoining, for himself. Ten days later, "Archibald Huston, farmer" and wife Mary, deeded to "John Cravens, farmer," for 171 Pounds, 470 acres of land on Linville's Creek, corner to tract devised to Zebulon and Robert Harrison, etc., tract conveyed by (to) Archibald, "by deed dated 8th this instant." (Deed Book 13, p. 383.) Of this, 240 acres, "on North West side of Linville's Creek, sold to John Cravens 8th (18th) August, 1767," part of 7009 acres patented by McKay, Hite, etc., was conveyed by John Cravens and Margaret, to John Bear, 15th March, 1770. (Deed Book 16, p. 285.)

John Cravens died 24th July, 1778. (Cravens vs. Lanachan, OS. 291, NS. 103, Augusta Court.) His widow Margaret and brother Robert Cravens, Jr., with Daniel Smith and Benjamin Harrison, as their sureties, furnished bond to the justices of Rockingham court, as "Administrators of all the goods and chattels . . . of John Cravens, deceased," 24th August, 1778. (Administrators Bonds 1778-1815, at Harrisonburg, Va.) On Monday, 22nd March, 1779, the appraisement of John's estate was recorded. (Rockingham Court Order Book No. 1, Part 1, p. 25, at State Library, Richmond, Va.) At the time of his death, according to the records, he was possessed of "three tracts of land," one of which was manifestly on Linville's Creek, (230 acres), another the land bought from his nephew, Joseph, in 1773, (300 acres), and the third his home plantation on Cook's Creek.

Margaret Cravens, in 1782, is listed as owning 750 acres of land in Rockingham. (Land Book, Rockingham Co.—Personal Property List—at State Library.) On the 20th of March, 1782, she married, as her third husband, Dennis Lanahan, and with him a little later became one of the early residents of Harrisonburg. (See page 247.)

Following John Cravens' death, his mother, Mary Cravens, the widow, being the sole executor of Robert living, was also granted administration on John's estate, in so far, manifestly, as her husband's estate was concerned, "At a Court held for Rockingham County Monday, 24th August 1778, Administran of the Estate of John Cravens deceased is granted to Mary Cravens, widow of Robert Cravens . . . . who having entered into Bond . . . made Oath according to law," (Rockingham Court Order Book, No. 1, Part. 1, p. 13, at State Library.)

(14) Mary Harrison Cravens, the widow of Capt. Robert Cravens, the pioneer, died testate in Rockingham County, Virginia, in April or May, 1781, the spring preceeding the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

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"At a Court held for Rockingham County Monday the 28th day of May 1781—The last Will & Testament of Mary Cravens decd. was proved by Alexr Miller & John Gwine two of theWits & admitted to record, also a Codicil was proven by the Oath of Alexr Miller & Jno Miller two of the Wits & admitted to Record whereupon Saml Hemphill & Jno Magill the Executors therein named . . . . certifications . . granted." . . etc. Also 28th May, 1781, Bond of Samuel Hemphill, John Magill, Francis Erwine, and James Shannon to Daniel Smith, William Nalle, Henry Ewing and Reuben Harrison, Gentlemen Justices of the Court of Rockingham County, for 100,000 Pounds current money of Virginia, as executors of the last Will and Tetament of Mary Cravens, deceased. (Rockingham Co. Executors Bonds, 1778-1815, No. 24, at Harrisonburg, Va.) On the 24th September, 1781, the "Appraismt of Mary Cravens Estate retd & O to be recorded, also the Vendue Bill retd & O to be recorded." (Rockingham Court Order Book No. 1, Part 1, pp. 92 and 101, at State Library.)

Owing to the destruction of the Rockingham records in the War of 1861-65, Mary's will has been reduced to ashes—such being the respect of the "preservers of the Republic" for the records of the founders of the same . She and Robert contributed at least two sons as soldiers in the Cause of Independence, and she herself furnished supplies, her executors filing claim with the court June 9th, 1781, for payment on "7 Bushels of Corn @ 2/ Each .14s" furnished by her for the "Continental" Army, the same being recorded and forwarded to Richmond by the Clerk of Rockingham Court amongst the "Filed MS Claims against the Revolutionary Army"—Folio 22. "The different Accts Sent you In this Book is A true Acct of the different Claims as they were Produced in Court, Certified by me, Henery Ewin (Ewing) C. R. C. " (State Library, Richmond, Va.)

Mary's executors gave bond in Revolutionary wartime currency. One of these executors, Hemphill, was certainly her son-in-law, and most likely Magill was also. Alexander and John Miller were probably her grand-sons, or brothers-in-law of her daughter, Elizabeth.

On the 27th August, 1781, the "Administran of the Estate of Robt. Cravens, the elder not administer'd by his executor, deced." was "granted to Robt Cravens his Son he having entd into Bond & Made Oath according to Law"which was "O to be certified." (Rockingham Court Order Book, No. 1, Part 1, p. 100, at State Library.) The same day Robert, Jr., with George Chrisman, furnished bond to "Daniel Smith, Henry Ewing, William Nalle & Reuben Harrison . . . . Gentlemen Justices of the Court of Rockingham County, now fitting, in the Sum of one hundred Thousand pounds" as "Administrator of all the Goods, Chattles, and Credits of Robert Cravens the Elder not administered by his Exrs now deceased." (Rockingham Adminisration Bonds, 1781, at Harrisonburg, Va.

Robert, Sr., and Mary Harrison Craven's children were, as named, briefly as follows—

(141) JOHN—b. 1722; d. July, 24, 1778; m. 1759 c., Margaret, nee Hiatt, the widow of William Dyer. After John's death she married, 3rd, Dennis Lanahan.

(142) MARGARET—b. 1724 c; d. 1800 c; m. 1st a Primrose; m. 2nd, July 23rd, 1747, Zebulon Harrison, (121), son of John Harrison, Sr.

(143) MAGGIE—b. ———; d. ———; m. before 1761, Robert Black, and removed with him to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, about 1764.

(144) JOSEPH—b. ———; d. 1763; m. ———, no further record.

(145) WILLIAM—b. 1730 c; d. ———; m. ——— "and is said to have had four sons,

Maj. Bob, James, John, and Joe, and that Maj. Bob and his uncle Robert Cravens married sisters," etc.

(146) MARY—b. ———; d. 1801; m. before 1761, Samuel Hemphill, d. 1809.

(147) AGNES—b. ———; d. ———; m. before 1761, John Magill (?).

(148) ROBERT—b. 1733 c; d. March, 1784; m. Hester Harrison, dau. of Jeremiah Harrison, (18).

(149) ELIZABETH—b. ———; d. ———; m. Jacob Miller (?).

(See further record for all but Joseph, Agnes, and Elizabeth.)

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(15) ELIZABETH HARRISON, (1698-), the second daughter of Isaiah Harrison, (1), the immigrant, and his 1st wife, Elizabeth Wright—and the full sister of John Harrison, Sr., (Chapter XI), and Mary Cravens, the wife of Capt. Robert Cravens—was born at Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York, 30th March, 1698. (See pages 23 and 123.)

Elizabeth is presumed to have been the "Elizabeth Herison, an adult person," baptized by the Rev. John Craig, of the Old Stone Church, July 27, 1744, and the individual whose account for "diets of the Militia," or supplies furnished the troops for the Point Pleasant expedition, was admitted to record, along with those of Thomas Harrison, January 18th, 1775. (See pages 151 and 229.)

She is thought to have lived and died unmarried, likely making her home with one of her brothers, probably Jeremiah. In any case no record, or tradition, has been found identifying her husband. (See however, page 124.)

Should this conjecture be correct, she was obviously "up and doing" in 1775, and likely died after the formation of Rockingham.

Harrison as having "9 White souls," in her family, and owning "1 Dwelling 3 other buildings." *(First U. S. Census,* Va., p. 77.)

CLAN OF CAPT. ROBERT CRAVENS

(141) JOHN CRAVENS, (1722-1778), the eldest son of Capt. Robert Cravens, and wife Mary, (14), was born in Sussex County, Delaware, and brought, in childhood, by his parents to Augusta, later Rockingham County, Virginia, about 1739. About 1759 he married Margaret Dyer, the widow of William, and daughter of John and Margaret Hiatt. (See pages 261, and 330.)

John and Margaret Cravens made their home on Cook's Creek, some four miles southwest of "Thomas Harrison's," near a place called Fishers Spring. In addition to his home plantation and another, here, he also acquired land in the old Linville Creek community, through the death of his father. At the time of his own death in 1778, he was a large landowner of the county. (See page 266.)

Frequent mention of him, and various references to his lands have been made on preceeding pages, particularly in the Chapter regarding his father. It remains to herein supply more especially the names of his children, several of whom became prominent men in the history of the county.

He died intestate, and as observed in the forgoing, his widow in 1782, married as her third husband, Dennis Lanahan, an early resident of Harrisonburg. Lanahan was an immigrant from Ulster, Ireland. By occupation he was a stone-mason and builder. His marriage to Margaret was apparently his first and only one; at any rate he had no children at this time or thereafter . Upon his marriage, he established himself in his wife's home; she continuing to reside on the farm for some time, until their removal to town, about 1787.

In the *Heads of Families,* Virginia, 1784, "Leanaham, Dennis," of Rockingham County, was listed by Benjamin Harrison, with "6 White souls, 1 Dwelling, 2 Other buildings." *(First U. S. Census,* Va., p. 77.) By this time two of the Cravens children were married, and one other was about of age, and perhaps not residing with the family.

Margaret's marriage to Lanahan, instead of proving fortunate for her children, as she no doubt anticipated, resulted in some dissapointment in this respect. Closely following her former husband's death, she and his brother, Robert Cravens, (Jr.), were granted administration upon his estate. (See page 266.) Robert was the principal executor, and legal guardian of the children, and after Lanahan's marriage came into conflict with him. The year of the above census, Robert died, and ere long several the children were openly accusing their step-father of having diminished their estate. About this time, also, Dennis changed his will, leaving his property to his nephew, Thomas Lanahan. From the papers in the resultant litigation many interesting facts are gleaned.

The proceedings first appear at the March term of court, 1785, "Cravens' Adms vs. Denis Lenchan." (Rockingham Court Order Book I.) About 1809 the controversy was renewed, later appearing in the Circuit Court of the Augusta-Rockingham District, under whose jurisdiction the papers below were filed, (at Staunton—Box 100, "Cravens vs. Lanahan," N. S. 103.) A Commissioner was appointed by the Superior Court of Chancery, 18th July, 1816, to take depositions, some of which were dated, "at the house of Denis Lanahan in the Town of Harrisonburg, Thursday morning Sept. 13th, 1816," and sealed 12th November, 1819.

In brief, the records may be broadly classified, for the present purpose, under

six heads, viz: the Bill of complaint; Lanahan's answer, 29th February 1816; Margaret's answer, 7th March, 1817; a certificate of records (regarding the several appointments of guardian), 18th September, 1818; John Hemphill's deposition, September 13, 1816; and other depositions of a few days later.

"John Cravens her former husband," says Margaret, "departed this life on or about the 25th day of July 1778, (on the 24th July, 1778, says Hemphill) seized of an estate both real and personal—three separate plantations." The home place consisted of "upwards of 100 acres of good plow land, 70 acres excellent meadow, and 45 or 50 acres of pasture, exclusive of meadow, together with a grist mill"—200 or 300 bushels of toll grain annually. (Bill of complaint.) Robert Cravens, the brother of John, was the active administrator until his death, according to Lanahan, but, says Margaret, further, "It is also true that Robert Cravens, brother of the deceased and this respondent took upon themselves the adminstration of the said personal estate, which has devolved almost exclusively upon herself. It being in the time of the Revolutionary War the said Robert Cravens was seldom at home."

As recited in the Bill of complaint—"To the Honorable John Brown judge of the Chancery District Court holden at Staunton—Humbly complaining sheweth to your Honor your Orator & Oratrix William Cravens, Joseph Cravens, James Cravens, and Joseph Snap & Peggy his wife formerly Peggy Cravens that their father John Cravens on or about the . . . day of July, 1778 being seized and posessed of a very valuable real estate, departed this life intestate, leaving his widow Margaret Cravens and seven children, to wit, Mary, Hannah, Robert, William, Joseph, James & Peggy. Shortly after the death of the said John Cravens administration of his estate was by the County Court of Rockingham granted to the said Margaret Cravens the widow and a certain Robert Cravens, brother of the intestate . . . . . widow remained in posession . . . . until her intermarriage with Dennis Lanahan, who immediately posessed himself thereof and continued to receive the rents and profits until Robert Cravens, the younger, became of age, to wit about the fall of 1785 when he, being sole heir at law, had the widow's dower laid off (which Lanahan afterwards sold) and made what was then considered an equal division of the lands between his brothers. Some time after that, to wit, about the year 1792 or 1793 the said Robert Cravens the younger, died intestate without issue . . . . . further, ... on or about . . . . the said Robert Cravens, the elder, departed this life, whereby the change of the administration devolved entirely on the said Lehanan & wife . . . that no accounts have been rendered of any portion of the estate . . . . except a kind of . . settlement a copy of which is hereunto attached," etc.

Of the above named; "Peggy was between 3 and 4 years old at the time of her father's death . . . . Hannah was married in June 1779 . . . . Mary was married in the same year and after her sister's marriage and before cold weather . . . They were both living at their mother's at the time of their marriage." (Hemphill's deposition.) Dennis Lanahan and Margaret's marriage "happened on the 20th March 1782." (Lanahan's answer.) Robert Cravens, (Jr.), the elder, died in March, 1784. (Hemphill's deposition.) Robert (III), the younger, "the heir at law was fourteen years old at the death of his father." (Lanahan's answer.) He died on the 10th December, 1793. (Hemphill's deposition.) At July Court, 1787, he was chosen guardian by James Cravens, and at the same term was appointed guardian of Margaret (Peggy) Cravens. At October Court, 1778, Joseph Cravens " made choice of the said Robert as his Guardian." (Certificate of appointment.)

Continues the mother—"It is true that the children to wit, Robert, William, Joseph,

James, and Peggy all lived with her. . (Leanahan bought a lot in Harrisonburg.) She well recollects Also that William Cravens entered with Wm. Lenahan as his apprentice to the Masons had within a few months after her marriage; that Joseph Cravens was kept by him at such employment as would better have suited a boy of more advanced age until he was sent to school by his Brother Robert as soon as he became his guardian, and James was kept by him at making brick in Staunton one season until he became sick there and was taken so down to Harrisonburg and the same fall after he had recovered he was taken by a relative to Kentucky where he remained until he was of sufficient age to choose his Guardian and never returned to us any more, and Peggy was also taken away by her Brother Robert who became her guardian. But she believes that the other three to wit, Mary, Hannah, and William have received each 1/7 part of what was considered a settlement [of] the personal estate . . . . that in the consideration betwixt Wm. Leanhan and her self he observed to her he wished to rent out or sell her Dower right which was laid off on the Home tract during her life time. Sworn to before me the 7th day of March, 1817"—(signed) Peachy Harrison.

The final outcome of the case is unknown. Considering the circumstances, the controversy manifestly largely hinged on the fluctuating value of the currency of the day. Lanahan states that paper money depreciated 45 to 1. The defendant died between March 1817, and November 1819. He acknowledged changing his will, which he believed accounted "for all this bustle," explaining, "His nephew having come in from Ireland he thought he was well entitled to enjoy the fruits of his labor as those who had so long lived on him before . . . After his arrival the friendship of his pretended friends who before were all love soon subsided and the Deft. then became a stepfather."

On May 21st, 1810, "Dennis Lanahan, and Margaret, his wife, late Margaret Cravens, Josiah Harrison, Jonathan Evans and Hannah, his wife, late [Cr]avens, Wm. Cravens [and Jane, his wife, James Cravens and Nancy, his wife, Joseph Snapp and Margaret] his wife, late Margaret Cravens, heirs, . . . Rob[ert]. [dec]eased who was eldest son and heir at law of John Crav[ens]" conveyed to "Joseph Cravens (who is also one of the sons of [the] said John Cravens decd)," for $1.00 "all their undivided . . . . and in 470 acres of land on Linvil Creek and is a part of . . . . a larger tract originally granted unto J . . . . . and others and was conveyed unto the said John Cravens (by) Archibald Huston, 17th & 18th Aug., 1767." "Recorded May Court 1811. This deed from Denis Lanahan and Margaret, his wife, Josiah Harrison, Jonathan Evans, and Hannah, his wife, Wm. Cravens and Jane his wife, James Cravens and Nancy, his wife, Joseph Snapp and Margaret, his wife, to Joseph Cravens," etc. (Rockingham B. R. Deed Book I, p. 510, mutilated.)

By this time Joseph, too, was married—"To the Clerk of Augusta County"—25th November, 1790, Certificate of willingness, "License shoulld issue to Join together in the Stat of Matrimony my Daughter Polly & Joseph Cravens"— (signed) John Nickel. (Augusta Marriage Bonds.)

Joseph seems to have been Lanahan's favorite, it being to him that Lanahan had originally willed the remainder of his estate, after bequeathing one third to his wife Margaret.

Margaret outlived her husband for some years. During the Revolution she furnished supplies to the army, two instances of which appear—

Nov. 7, 1781, Margaret Cravens 400 lb. of Beef a 2 d pounds, £3-6-8.

June 10, 1781, Margaret Cravens 1 sheep 15 s.

(Claims agst. Rev. Army—Rockingham.)

Briefly as named in the above, John Cravens, (141), and Margaret his wife had issue—

(1411) MARY—b. 1760 c; d. before 1810; m. Josiah Harrison, son of Capt. Reuben, (125)?
See further reference.

(1412) HANNAH—b. 1762 c; d. ——; m., June 1779, Jonathan Evans.

(1413) ROBERT—b. 1764; d. Dec. 10th, 1793, unmarried.

(1414) WILLIAM (Rev.)—b. Apr. 2, 1766; d. 1826; m., 1794, Jean Harrison, (1678) daughter of Col. Benjamin. Removed to Indiana.
See further record.

(1415) JOSEPH (M. D.)—b. May 20, 1769; d. 1842; m., Nov. 30, 1790, Mary (Polly) Nickel, dau. of John; b. April 10, 1774; d. Nov. 28, 1847.
See further record.

(1416) JAMES—b. Apr. 12, 1773; d. 1821; m., Ann (Nancy) Love, 1797, dau. of Thomas. Removed before marriage to Green Co., Tenn., thence after marriage to Selma, Ala., where he died.
See further record.

(1417) MARGARET (Peggy)—b. Aug. 26, 1775; d. ——; m., Joseph Snapp.
See further reference.

(Birth dates of last four Cravens given by Lanahan in his answer above—Birth of Polly Nickel (Nickle) from *James Nourse and his Descendants*, by Maria C. N. Lyle.)

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(142) MARGARET CRAVENS, (1724 c-1800 c), the eldest daughter of Capt. Robert Cravens, and wife Mary, (14), was born near Lewes, Delaware, and married, probably there, ——— Primrose. In 1747 she was residing at or near Morristown, New Jersey, when the same year she married, 2nd., Zebulon Harrison, (121). See Clan of John Harrison.

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(145) WILLIAM CRAVENS, (1730 c-), son of Capt. Robert Cravens, and wife Mary, (14), served as an Ensign in the French and Indian War, and as a Captain in the Revolutionary War. (See pages 263 and 297.) His wife is said to have been named Jane, but if so, his nephew William, the son of John Cravens, also had a wife of the same name. He settled near his father on Cook's Creek, where he owned a tract of land called "Great Meadow." About the time of Robert Black's removal to North Carolina, William sold his Great Meadow land, and a few months later is mentioned as "going out of the colony." In 1766 he was in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, when he joined Black in witnessing Samuel Stewart's deed to Jacob Calpin. (See pages 252, 262 and 263.)

William's stay in North Carolina apparently was of comparatively short duration. In 1773 he patented land on Cook's Creek near his old home, and in 1778 was repelling the Indians in Tygarts Valley. (See pages 258 and 297.) The next year he was again out on another tour, "Claims against Revolutionary Army," Rockingham—"At a Court held for ye Cty of Rockingham was certified ye 20th Aug. 1782—

29th April, 1779, to William Cravens for 1 horse 18 dys. at 1/6 per day."
(Va. State Library, Richmond, Va.)

On the 27th October, 1788, Robert Cravens and William Cravens gave bond, that "Robert shall truly pay and deliver to Joseph Cravens Orphan of John Cravens deceased all effects due said Orphan." (Guardian's Bonds, 1788, Rockingham.)

William seems to have been living in the country as late as 1792. He may have removed to West Virginia, or Kentucky, after this date. (See pages 263 and 267.)

CONTEMPORARIES—NORTH CAROLINA

There were some fairly early Cravens and Harrisons in North Carolina around Edenton, Chowan County. These Cravens were from Yorkshire, England. Will, September, 1755—James Craven, Late of Donghton near Skipton in Craven in the County of York in Great Britain now of Edenton, North Carolina . . . . "I give to my wife Penople Craven (formerly Hodgson)" . . . etc. One witness was John Walton of Suffolk, Virginia. A James Craven was appointed Clerk of the Court in 1740. One of the name petitioned for a mill at Rockyhock, which was granted, in 1747.

Also will, March, 1766—Dr John Craven of Edenton, North Carolina. Son John, daughter Margaret . . . . "If my wife should wish to return to her friends and native country with our children," etc. Wife, and brother Samuel Sands, of Lancaster, Great Britain, guardians.

Deed, February, 1729—Joseph Harrison to Daniel Harrison, 200 acres on Rockyhock Creek, bequeathed to said Joseph by his father. Will, 1726—Daniel Harrison of Chowan County, wife Elizabeth, son Joseph, as above.

Among those of Edenton, in 1777, were—Benjamin Harrison, son of Thomas, Thomas Harrison, son of John, and James Harrison, son of James. One, John Harrison of 1693, had sons William and John, and a daughter Elizabeth. Another John, or the same, in 1710 had a brother Thomas, and sister Hannah. *(North Carolina Historical & Genealogical Register.)*

HEMPHILL

(146) MARY CRAVENS, (-1801), the daughter of Capt. Robert Cravens, and wife Mary, (14), some time prior to the date of her father's will, married Samuel Hemphill, who died testate in Rockingham County, Virginia, in 1809. She died in 1801. (See page 264.) The Hemphills were from Pennsylvania.

Samuel's will, dated 19th March, 1802, and proven in April, 1809, a copy of which appears in "Kyle vs. Smith, 5th May, 1816," names besides John Pottorff, and three grandchildren, the following children—

(1461) JOHN—b. 1759, "eldest son" (aged about 57 at time of deposition in Cravens vs. Lanahan.)

(1462) AGNES—m., ——— Miller.
See further record.

(1463) ROBERT—"second son".

(1464) SAMUEL—"youngest son"; m., 1799, Clarinda Solfora (Solford.)
See further record.

(Marriage of Samuel, from Strickler's *Rockingham Co. Marriages,* p. 64.)

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(148) ROBERT CRAVENS, JR. (1735 c-1784), son of Capt. Robert Crevans, and wife Mary, (14), was among the younger children brought by his parents from Sussex County, Delaware, on their removal to Virginia. Under his father's will, proven 1762, he inherited his father's home plantation on Cook's Creek, a mile or so southwest of "Thomas Harrison's". He married, a few years before his father's death, Hester, said to have been the daughter of Jeremiah Harrison, (18). (See page 341.)

Robert, Jr., as his father before him, was a Captain of the militia. His services

were in the Revolution. He was early in the conflict, and during the war, according to the record, "the said Robert Cravens was seldom at home." (See page 343.) He added luster to the family name, and before the armies were disbanded was promoted to a Major.

He was among the officers named by the Court of Augusta County, in whose companies the tithables were ordered taken, August 20, 1777. (See page 298.) Upon the formation of Rockingham, he was one of the Captains taken over into the new military organization of this county—28th April, 1778, "Wm. Herring appointed Lieut. in Capt. Robert Cravens Company," etc. (See page 298.) In the fall of the same year he served under Col. Benjamin Harrison, in Gen. McIntosh's campaign against the Indians in Ohio. (See page 296.)

As stated by John Hemphill, in his testimony, Cravens vs. Lanahan,—"Robert Cravens (the administrator of his brother John) started a few days after the sale say the 14th day of September, 1778, on what was called McIntosh's campaign. He does not know of his having anything to do with the Estate afterwards . . . he died in March 1784 . . . .but supposes the widow must have done the business . . . Question—At what time did Robert Cravens the admr. return from the campaign called McIntoshs. Ans. He returned a few days previous to the first of January 1779.

His commission expiring a short time after his return, he again offered his services —"At a Court contd & held for Rockingham County, Tuesday 23d March 1779 Robt Davis, Robt Cravens, Andrew Johnson & John Rush produced commissions as Captains of the Militia in this County & were Sworn into their office which is ordered to be certified." (Rockingham Court Order Book I, p. 30.)

Capt. Cravens and his company, as a part of the Virginia militia, participated in the brilliant campaign of Gens. Greene and Morgan, which resulted in Lord Cornwallis' retirement from North Carolina. Among Robert's men at the time was one John Young, who had served under him in the McIntosh campaign, and whose declaration of service has been noticed. (See page 297.) In his testimony, Young further relates that he volunteered in September 1780, under Capt. Robert Cravens of the Virginia Militia as a volunteer rifleman, and served under Gen. Greene and Gen. Morgan. According to McAllister's *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War*, Capt Robert Cravens' Company was at the battle of Cowpens, 1781. *(McAllister*, p. 43, Rockingham.)

On the 26th August, 1782, Robert Cravens qualified Major. (Rockingham Court Order Book I.) Col. Benjamin Harrison at the time was County Lieutenant. While hostilities had ceased, not all of the British were yet out of the country—only the month before they had departed from Savannah, and it was not until the 30th of November, the same year, that the Independence of the United States was acknowledged by England.

Major Cravens died in March 1784. On the 27th April, 1784, the administration of his estate was granted to Hester Cravens, his widow, and Benjamin Smith, (his son-in-law.) (Rockingham Court Order Book I, and Cravens vs. Lanahan.)

Robert Cravens, Jr. (148), and wife Hester, had issue—

(1481) JEREMIAH—b. 1762; d.——; m. Margaret (Peggy) Harrison, in Rockingham, dau. of Zebulon, (121)? Removed to S. C., thence to Ky., and finally to Missouri.
See further record.

were in the Revolution. He was early in the conflict, and during the war, according to the record, "the said Robert Cravens was seldom at home." (See page 149.) He added lustre to the family name, and before the armies were disbanded was promoted to a Major.

He was among the officers named by the Court of Augusta County, in whose committee the tithables were ordered taken, August 20, 1777. (See page 298.) Upon the formation of Rockingham, he was one of the Captains taken over into the new military organization of this county—25th April, 1778, "Wm. Herring appointed Lieut. in Capt. Robert Cravens Company," etc. (See page 295.) In the fall of the same year he served under Col. Benjamin Harrison, in Gen. McIntosh's campaign against the Indians in Ohio. (See page 256.)

As stated by John Trimbill, in his testimony, Cravens vs. Linaban,—"Robert Cravens (the administrator of his brother John) started a few days after the sale try the 14th day of September, 1778, on what was called McIntosh's campaign. He does not know of his having anything to do with the Estate afterwards . . . he died in March 1784 . . . but supposes the widow must have done the business . . . Question—At what time did Robert Cravens the admr. return from the campaign called McIntosh. Ans. He returned a few days previous to the first of January 1779.

His commission expiring a short time after his return, he again offered his services —"At a Court could & held for Rockingham County, Tuesday 23d March 1779 Robt Davis, Robt Cravens, Andrew Johnson & John Rush produced commissions as Captains of the Militia in this County & were Sworn into their office which is ordered to be certified." (Rockingham Court Order Book I, p. 38.)

Capt. Cravens and his company, as a part of the Virginia militia, participated in the brilliant campaign of Gens. Greene and Morgan, which resulted in Lord Cornwallis' retirement from North Carolina. Among Robert's men at the time was one John Young, who had served under him in the McIntosh campaign, and whose declaration of service has been noticed. (See page 297.) In his testimony, Young further relates that he volunteered in September 1780, under Capt. Robert Cravens of the Virginia Militia as a volunteer rifleman, and served under Gen. Greene and Gen. Morgan. According to McAllister's Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War, Capt Robert Cravens' Company was at the battle of Cowpens, 1781. (McAllister, p. 41, Rockingham.)

On the 25th August, 1782, Robert Cravens qualified Major. (Rockingham Court Order Book I.) Col. Benjamin Harrison at the time was County Lieutenant. While hostilities had ceased, not all of the British were yet out of the country—only the month before they had departed from Savannah, and it was not until the 19th of November, the same year, that the Independence of the United States was acknowledged by England.

Major Cravens died in March 1784. On the 27th April, 1784, the administration of his estate was granted to Elster Cravens, his widow, and Benjamin Smith, (his son-in-law.) (Rockingham Court Order Book I, and Cravens vs. Linaban.)

Robert Cravens, Jr. (148), and wife Elster, had issue—

(1481) Benjamin—b. 1782; d.——; m. Margaret (Peggy) Harrison, in Rockingham, dau. of Zebulon. (121). Removed to S. C., thence to Ky., and finally to Missouri.

See further record

(1482) ELIZABETH (Nancy)—b. 1762 or 3; d. 1837; m. 1782-3, Benjamin Smith, (1656), son of Col. Daniel Smith. Removed to Ohio.
See further record.

(1483) WILLIAM—b. 1764; d. 1832; m. Mary Lamma, of Va., d. 1832, in Madison Co., Mo. Removed as bro. Jeremiah.
See further record.

(1484) NEHEMIAH (Mi.)—m. Sallie McCullough, of Wheeling, now West Va., (See page 263.) "Went to Kentucky," from there to Washington Co., Mo.
See further record

(1485) MARGARET (Peggy)—m., Apr. 2, 1792, Henry Smith, son of Capt. Abraham Smith. (See page 259, and Strickler's *Rockingham Co. Marriages.)*
See further record.

(1486) ROBERT—b. (youngest son) d. ——; m. ——; Lived for a time in Ky., and then moved to Ga. (Said to have had a son Robert who lived on Lookout Mt., Tenn., d. 1885.)

(1487) ELEANOR—m., —— Hawkins. Removed to Miss.

(1488) ABIGAIL—m., —— Hays. Removed to Miss.

(All eight born in Rockingham.)

CLAN OF ALEXANDER HERRING

(191) LEONARD HERRING, (1735 c-), the eldest son of Alexander Herron (Herring), the pioneer, and wife Abigail (19), was born near Lewes, Delaware, and about 1744 brought by his parents, as a child, to later Rockingham County, Virginia. He married in August, 1761, Abigail Harrison (171), the daughter of Thomas Harrison, founder of Harrisonburg. (See pages 215, 223, 249, 283, and 286.)

Leonard settled in the old Linville Creek community, on land purchased by his father from Samuel Harrison in 1751. To this tract he added 88 acres, by patent, in 1781. His father had first settled on the land, or a tract nearby, but sometime during the French and Indian War, or before, had established himself a short distance further south on Cook's Creek. After the elder Herring's death, 1778, the son appears to have removed to Cook's Creek also.

Upon the organization of Rockingham, Leonard was appointed one of the first Vestrymen, taking the oath 26th May, 1778. (Rockingham Court Order Book, I, p. 10.)

Unfortunately, owing to the destruction of so large a part of the early records of the county, little regarding him, or his family, appears. Further, in the 1784 census, *Heads of Families,* his name is omitted, this being also a complilation of fragmentary records. According to Lea and Hutchinson, he is said to have had thirteen children, "of whom the memory of only one has been preserved."

As given by the marriage bonds of Augusta County; William Herring the "son of Leonard Herring," was licensed 28th December, 1786, to marry Hannah Robertson, the daughter of Peter; witness Sarah Herring. *(Chalkley,* Vol. II, p. 281.) Other children of Leonard are named on the marriage bonds of Rockingham County—September 26, 1780, Joseph Hall and Edith Herring, daughter of Leonard, who consents, surety Robert Harrison, witness Benj. Crow and Wm. Herring. March 9, 1783, William Lowery and Sarah Herring, daughter of Leonard, witness Richard Dictum and Michael Warren. 1800, John Ervin and Ester Herring, daughter of Leonard, who

negro in her joy completely forgot her new "dignity"; threw her arms around her much astonished mistress, kissed her and wept, before the aristocratic old lady had time to realize it.

Mrs. Smith was very fond of children, and always had some of her small grand-nephews or nieces around. Several of these remembered the incident. Mammy was allowed to remain. The war, of course freed all the slaves but a few of the older ones —the old mammy among them—were given a home in their old quarters until death.

The war not only freed the slaves, long before Edward Smith's intention, but very much impoverished his widow otherwise. During its course she invested heavily in Confederate bonds. Peace found her fields in desolation, fences torn down, barn in ruins, farm implements stolen, stock driven off, slaves gone, and bonds worthless.

Such, however, was the lot of a Southerner, and with true southern fortitude she faced the future. Following the death of John Houston, her nephew, in 1869, another nephew, the late T. A. Jordan, managed the property for her.

"Julia Harrison, wife of Edward H. Smith," died February 23, 1883. Her body was laid beside that of her husband, in Woodbine Cemetery, Harrisonburg,—the spot is marked by a chaste monument (enclosed by an ornate iron fence)—on which the names and dates of both appear.

CLAN OF CAPT. ROBERT CRAVENS

LINE OF JOHN CRAVENS

(1414) WILLIAM CRAVENS, (1766-1826), the son of John Cravens, (141), and wife Margaret, married, 1749, Jean Harrison, (1678), the daughter of Col. Benjamin Harrison; surety S. McWilliams. (See pages 323, 345, and *Wayland*, p. 444.)

William Cravens, upon his marriage, settled in or near Harrisonburg. He is said to have been somewhat inclined to intemperance as a young man, before joining the church and entering its ministry. He was a man of powerful physique, and was doubtless the individual of the same name who had served as Deputy Sheriff in 1790. (See page 352.) The story is told, that on one occasion during his church services, finding himself interrupted in the midst of his sermon by some rowdies in the congregation, he stopped short in his discourse, calmly descended from the pulpit, walked quietly down the isle to where his disturbers sat, and ejected them bodily, after which he resumed his sermon as unperturbed as if nothing had happened.

He was one of the first Methodist ministers of Rockingham; and a beloved and prominent one. The fragrance of his memory long lingered in the county after his removal therefrom.

Today there are no Cravens in Rockingham, all having passed from her hills; either by death, or by way of "the great western migration." Both John Cravens, and his brother Robert, the Major, left sons, later founders of distinguished lines in the South and West. Their descendants have numbered many eminent men in their chosen professions, and several—among them a grandson, and a nephew of Rev. William—have graced the legislative halls of the nation.

As one of the heirs of John Cravens, deceased, William, (and wife) in 1810, signed the deed conveying his interest in his late father's 470 acres of land on Linville Creek, to his brother Joseph. (See page 344.) In November, 1810, he joined his brothers Joseph and James, and his brother-in-law, Joseph Snapp, in executing a deed to Robert Belshe, "in completion of a sale made in 1768 by John Cravens deceased,"

—200 acres on the banks of Linville Creek—"the bed thereof . . . .of the water does not appear to have been conveyed," etc. (Rockingham D. B. 1, p. 533.)

The exact date of Rev. Cravens ordination as a pastor is not known. His name appears on the first marriage book of Rockingham, as that of the officiating clergyman, at a marriage February 4, 1811, and continues as such to as late as March 15, 1814. (See Strickler's *Rockingham Co. Marriages*, p. 110 and 49.)

About 1815, he removed, with his family, to Indiana. His removal occurred, says the Nourse genealogy, while Indiana was a territory, The state was admitted to the Union in 1816. He became a noted circuit rider and travelled in both Indiana and Illinois. He settled at Madison, in Indiana, but in his old age bought land four miles south of Salem, in the same State, on the Martinsburg and Salem Road, in Washington County, where he was buried. (One account states that he died, October 10, 1826.) His wife died in 1835.

Rev. William Cravens, (1414), and wife Jean, had issue—

(14141) HANNAH—m. Rev. William Shanks.
(14142) JOHN—m., 1818 c, Ann Christopher Newman, of Va.
See further record.
(14143) BENJAMIN—m. Margaret Blackburn.
(All named in the *Times Dispatch* article, wherein the wife of John is named as Ann C. Newman. (See page 322.)

(1415) JOSEPH CRAVENS, (1769-1842), the son of John Cravens, (141), and wife Margaret, married November 30, 1790, Mary Nickle, the daughter of John Nickle, of Augusta County. (See page 345.) The officiating clergyman was Rev. Benjamin Irvin, the pastor of the Cooks Creek Presbyterian Church. (See page 321—Rev. Erwin's name appears spelled various ways.)

John Nickel, Sr., (Nickle, Nichol), the grand-father of Mary Nickle, (Polly as she was called), in will, 24th March, 1755, names wife Barbara, eldest son John, sons Joseph and Thomas, and daughter Elizabeth. Executors, wife and her brother, and . . . McComb. Witness, Alexander Blair, and James Reaburn. Will proved August 17, 1774. Barbara Nickel and Andw McComb, qualified executors. (Original Wills, Augusta Co., 1774.)

Edwin Nichol, of the " County of Madison," of Virginia, on November 6, 1822, was deeded by Joseph Cravens, and Mary his wife, "of the Town of Harrisonburg," 17 acres of land adjoining the said town, and "lying on the northwest square of said town and known by the name of said Cravens lot, beginning on Main or German St. . . . part of inclusive survey, 1773, to Thomas Harrison," Land conveyed by Reuben Harrison to Geo. Sites, and by Sites to Joseph Cravens. (Rockingham D. B. 6, p. 126.)

Joseph Cravens and Mary, following their marriage, made their home in Harrisonburg, Virginia, where he was a prominent physician "for about fifty years." He was one of Rockingham's distinguished citizens, and among the first of his profession to practice in the town. He is thought to have attended Rush Medical College, in Philadelphia, as did his cousin, Dr. Peachy Harrison, his contemporary.

From 1831 to 1833, Dr. Cravens represented the Valley country in the Virginia State Senate. He was a man of fine intellect and an influential public speaker. During the Cravens vs. Lanahan cause, although he had engaged counsel, he frequently conducted the cross-examination himself.

Joseph Cravens is named as a member of Rockingham Militia Company No. 5,

in 1792. In the personal property tax list of 1797, he appears as the owner of one slave and three horses; in 1811, as the owner of two slaves and two horses; and 1812, as the owner of one slave and six horses. From 1811 to 1813 he was assessed for two "White tithables," and prior thereto for only one—himself. (Original Tax Lists of Rockingham.)

Dr. Cravens became early interested in Harrisonburg's development, and between September 1791, and July 1826, was the granter and grantee of some twenty-six deeds, about thirteen of each class. A few of these of more particular interest mentioning some of the old landmarks of the town follow—

Sept. 6, 1791; Joseph Cravens and Mary, his wife, to William Carroll, Lot 36 feet front, 100 back, part of lot sold by Robert and Reuben Harrison to said Cravens, part of an Acre Lott known by the name of No. 12, in the South East Square, adjoining John Smith's. (Rockingham Original Deeds.)

Dec. 20, 1794; Joseph Cravens and Mary, his wife, to James Cravens, Part of that Acre Lot No. 12, in the South East Square, etc. part of a Tract of 1290 acres, Granted to Thomas Harrison, Deceased, by Patent bearing date 1st. March, 1773, "and Left by Said Thomas Harrison Decd, to His two sons Robt & Reuben as will appear from his last will and testament now on record in this county office. Beginning at a Stake on the edge of the Street Near the Public Lott." (Rockingham Original Deeds.)

Feb. 15, 1803; Joseph Cravens and Mary, his wife, of Rockingham, to Jeremiah Kyle of the same county, "a small lott of land in Harrisonburg" that Joseph sold to James Cravens, and he to Alexander Humphres, and Humphres to Kyle; correction of former conveyance. (Rockingham D. B. 000, p. 217.)

May 1814; Joseph Cravens and Polly, his wife, to George Sites, 40 Acres adjoining the town of Harrisonburg, part of same conveyed to Thomas Harrison (Jr.) by Daniel Dickenson, and by Exors. of said Harrison conveyed to J. Gambill, 1810, and to Joseph Cravens in Sept. 1810. "Except that the tan yard is entitled to the privilege of linking a pipe . . . to receive the water from the spring 18 inches below the surface . . . then to be elevated by a pump for family purposes only but not to be employed in the supply of Water Poll or vats." (Rockingham D. B. 2, p. 310.)

July 12, 1821; Joseph Cravens and Mary, his wife, Reuben Harrison and Mary, his wife, to Francis A. Hite. Land adjacent to town of Harrisonburg, 1¾ acres 10 poles, adjoining Samuel McWilliams, north side of Great Road leading from town to Geo. Sites . . . spring near a willow—run mentioned—Reuben Harrison, P. Harrison's corner, near the tan yard. Part of two tracts; 1st. part of 41-5/8 acres conveyed to said Cravens by Henry J. Gambill, the other part of a well known tract of 1291 acres first granted to Thomas Harrison in 1773. (Rockingham D. B. 2, p. 552.)

June 22, 1809; John Rogers to Joseph Cravens, "sell to the Said Joseph Cravens. . . for an during the lifetime of Sarah Kyle, late Sarah Harrison, one certain tract adjoining the Town of Harrisonburg, 100 acres that was laid off to her late husband Thomas Harrison (Jr) deceased, Reference to deed of March 12, 1803. Except 23 acres being a part of the above described land conveyed by Richard Kyle and Sarah his wife to Samuel McWilliams.

Witness Henry Burgess, John Sheltman, Reuben Harrison. (Recorded Feb. 1810. (Rockingham D. B. 0000, p. 504; also No. 1, p. 314, mutilated.)

May 2, 1814; George Sites and Elizabeth, his wife, to Joseph Cravens of the Town of Harrisonburg. One Lott in said town in the north west Square . . . of Lott No. 3. It is on German or Main St., adjoining John Jenkins' Lott. Lott No. 4, Jacob Googler's Lott, Rutherford's lott . . . . Elizabeth St. . . . conveyed to said Sites, the 1st. by Robert and Reuben Harrison, the 2nd. by Thomas Sulivan, and one lott on German St. part of lands of Thomas Harrison contained in inclusive survey, 1773, of 1291 acres. (Rockingham D. B. 2, p. 309, mutilated.)

For a time during his residence in Harrisonburg, Dr. Cravens was associated with Reuben Harrison, his cousin, in conducting a store. By his will of 1799, proved in April 1800, Thomas Harrison, Jr., appointed as his executors, Joseph Cravens, Reuben Harrison, (the testator's brother), Samuel McWilliams, and Benjamin Smith. (See page 329.) In the will Thomas directed his executors to carry on the business of his store for a time.

Further proof that Dr. Cravens was highly regarded by Thomas, is shown by other clauses of the will, one of which provided that a dwelling house be built for his (the testator's) wife and children, "on the Acre lots I last Bought of Reuben Harrison, opposite his stone house," and another, desiring that all of his children "be learned to labor agreeable to their sexes, also to be educated in Literature and put to such places for said purpose as they my said Executors shall think best."

In 1823, Joseph Cravens was one of the executors of the will of Samuel Hemphill, deceased, another relative. (See page 346.) Incidently, in this connection, it is revealed that he (Joseph) was the owner of a "medical shop," or one of the first drug stores of Harrisonburg.

As Hemphill's executor, Joseph Cravens (and John Cravens, his son ?), entered into bond to William Jenkins of Baltimore, Maryland. Joseph's security was Reuben Harrison, above named, and to secure the latter he pledged a part of his personal property, 17th July, 1823, (recorded 12th March, 1824). Among the items listed was one negro boy William, about five years old, 1 desk, 1 book case with 200 books . . . part worn, 1 case of Dramns, etc., . . . and "All the medicines with the medical shop furniture consisting of bottles, mortars, Slabs, surgical & other instruments of the said Joseph Cravens."

Dr. Cravens, and his wife, following his service in the State Senate, removed late in life to Madison, Indiana. Several of his children had settled in Indiana, among them his sons Dr. Robert Cravens, and James Harrison Cravens, the later congressman. He died at Madison in 1842, at the home of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Stevenson, who had married, as her first husband, his son Robert. Three of her granddaughters live in the same house today (1930), one being the widow (2nd. wife) of Dr. Edward Eggleston, the author.

Dr. Joseph Cravens, (1415), and wife Mary, were the parents of nine children—three of whom followed in his profession, one becoming an eminent physican of Missouri, a fourth—the last named above—inherited his father's predilection for the law.

Briefly, their children were—

(14151) MARGARET, (Peggy)—b. 1792; d. 1833; m. 1811, Francis Asbury Hite, of Harrisonburg. Removed to Madison, Ind. prior to 1830.

(14152) ROBERT (M. D.)—b. 1794; d. 1821; m. 1818, Sarah Grover Paul, dau. of Col. John Paul, founder of Madison, Indiana. Settled at Madison.
See further record.

(14153) JOHN (M. D.)—b. Oct. 28, 1797; d. Mar. 15, 1882; m. Feb. 15, 1821, Ruhama Chapline, of Maryland, b. Mar. 26, 1805, d. Nov. 26, 1882. Removed to Daviess Co., Mo., 1837.
See further record.

(14154) SALLIE—b. 1800; d. 1833; m. 1818, Abraham Hite.

(14155) JAMES HARRISON (Congressman)—b. Aug. 2, 1802; d. Dec. 4, 1876; m. 1824, Sophia Capito, b. 1803, d. 1895, dau. of Daniel Capito, of Franklin, now W. Va. Removed to Franklin, 1823, and thence to Madison, Ind., 1829.
See further record.

(14156) AMANDA FITZALLEN—b. 1804; d. 1884; m. 1820, Jacob R. Kennerly, of Indiana.
See further record.

(14157) OSCAR FITZALLEN (M. D.),—b. 1808; d. 1841; m. Mary E. McMahon, dau. of Col. William McMahon. Settled in Courtland, Ala., 1836.

(14158) WILLIAM—b. 1810; d. ——; Removed to Cravensville, Davis Co., Mo., 1840.

(14159) JOSEPH— . . . . . "In Memory of JOSEPH son of Joseph and Mary Cravens who died in this place Feb. 6, 1817, Aged 1 Yr. 3 mo. and 18 days. Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not for of such is the Kingdom of God." (Epitaph in old Methodist Churchyard at Harrisonburg.)

(Robert, John, and James, named in *James Nourse and his Descendants*, by Maria Catherine Nourse Lyle, Lexington, Ky., 1897, p. 38.)

(1416) JAMES CRAVENS, (1773-1821), the son of John Cravens, (141), and wife Margaret, born in Rockingham County, Virginia, April 12, 1773, was conveyed "Part of that Acre Lott No. 12, in the South East Square," of Harrisonburg, by his brother Joseph Cravens, in 1794. (See above.) In 1810 along with his brothers, William and Joseph, he joined in confirming his deceased father's sale of Linville Creek land, originally sold in 1768.

A part of the days of his youth—between the years 1782 and 1787— were spent in the home of a relative in Tennessee, (not Kentucky—see page 344.) He married in Greene County, this State, in 1797, Ann Love, the daughter of Thomas and Dorothy Love, of the said county. Although back in Rockingham again for a period following his marriage, he returned after his third child was born to Green County, and settled.

Thomas Love and wife were from Fauquier County, Virginia. His first deed in Tennessee is dated in 1787. His will, proved in Green County, May 1810, names besides his wife, children, Mary, Lucy, Martha, Ann, Dorothy, John, Philip, William, and Charles.

After residing for a time in Tennessee, James Cravens removed with his family to Selma, Alabama. Both he and his wife died in Alabama, in 1821.

Their children were eight in number, viz;

(14161) MARY—m. in Ala., Jacob Shelly; Col. in the Mexican War.
See further record.
(14162) MARGARET—m. Samuel Swan.
(14163) ROBERT—b. 1805, in Rockingham County, Va.; d. Dec. 1886; m. 1st., in Rockingham, Catherine Roddy, dau. of Jesse Roddy, of Tenn. m. 2nd., Caroline Cunningham; no issue by last marriage.
See further record.
(14164) ANN—m. ——; Roberts.
(14165) DOROTHY—m. Thomas Ball.
(14166) ELIZABETH—m. Jacob Haley.
(14167) MARTHA—m. Pleasant Lea.
(14168) SARAH—d. unmarried.
(From list kindly supplied by Mrs. (Dr.) Geo. R. West, of Chattanooga, Tenn., a descendant of Robert.)

SNAPP

(1417) MARGARET CRAVENS, (1775-), the daughter of John Cravens, (141), and wife Margaret, married in Rockingham, October 1, 1793, Joseph Snapp; surety Robert Cravens. (See, *Strickler*, p. 107; *Wayland*, p. 444.)

Joseph Snapp appears to have been the son of John Snapp, Sr., who, in 1813, owned land on Mill Creek, in Rockingham. On January 20, 1821, Joseph Cravens and Mary, his wife, conveyed to Philip Rymell, 81 acres, "Land on Mill Creek first conveyed by Jno. Snapp Sen. to Joseph Snapp, Mar. 16, 1813." (Rockingham D. B. 5, p. 176.)

One branch of the Snapp family, probably descendants of Joseph, or of his brother, have long been residents on Smiths Creek in southern Shenandoah County, in the region of New Market.

LINE OF SAMUEL HEMPHILL

MILLER

(1462) AGNES HEMPHILL, ( ), the daughter of Samuel Hemphill, and wife Mary, (146), nee Cravens, married in 1795, Jacob Miller. (See, *Strickler*, p. 84.) In her father's will, recorded in Rockingham, April 1809, a bequest was made to his three Miller grandchildren, viz;

(14621) MARY—
(14622) JOHN—
(14623) BENJAMIN—
(See page 346; no further record.)

(1464) SAMUEL HEMPHILL, JR., ( ), the youngest son of Samuel Hemphill (Sr.) and wife Mary, (164), nee Cravens, married, in 1799, Clarinda Solford; surety James Smith. By his father's will Samuel, Jr., was devised land, which he later sold, by 1815, to Jeremiah Kyle, of Rockingahm. In "Miller vs. Hemphill," bill 1815, (See page 264), it is stated that Samuel Senr's son Samuel is now dead, leaving besides his widow, Clarinda, children, all infants, viz;

(14641) RUTH—
(14642) ROBERT—
(14643) MARY—
(14644) JOHN—
(14645) SAMUEL—
(No further record.)

LINE OF MAJOR ROBERT CRAVENS

(1481) JEREMIAH CRAVENS, (1762-), the son of Major Robert Cravens (148), and wife Hester, married Margaret Harrison, of Rockingahm, thought to have been a daughter of Zebulon Harrison, (121). (See page 362.)

From Rockingham, Jeremiah Cravens "emigrated to South Carlonia, and afterwards moved to Kentucky (settled in Christian County), and from there to Scott County, Missouri, where he died,". Issue, two children—

(14811) HESTER—m. Jesse Cravens, son of Nehemiah, (1484) of Kentucky.
See further record.

(14812) ELIZABETH—m. Robert Harrison, "a second cousin," in Christian Co., Ky. "Emigrated South."

(1482), ELIZABETH CRAVENS, (1763-1837), the daughter of Major Robert Cravens, (148), and wife Hester, married in 1782-3, Benjamin Smith, (1656), son of Col. Daniel Smith. See Clan of Capt. Daniel Harrison, Line of Col. Daniel Smith. (Page 390.)

(1483), WILLIAM CRAVENS, (1764-1832), the son of Major Robert Cravens, (148), and wife Hester, born in Augusta, later Rockingham County, Virginia, died in Madison County, Missouri. His route from Rockingham to Missouri was by way of the Indian Lands in South Carolina, where he remained two years, thence to Frankfort, Kentucky, where he stopped one year, thence to Christian County, Kentucky, and finally, in 1810, to Cape Giradeau, later Madison County, Missouri.

William Cravens married, in "1789 odd", Mary Lamma (pronounced Lamb), "born in Rockingham Co., about 1768," probably daughter of William Lam of Rockingham, who in the *Heads of Families* census, 1784, was enumerated as having in his family, "7 White souls," and owning "2 Dwellings, 2 Other buildings." (Jacob, Henry, and Michael Lame, are also listed in this census.) One Natham "Lammy", of Rockingham, married in 1782, Nancy Ralston, of near Harrisonburg. (See, Strickler's *Rockingham Co. Marriages*, p. 75.)

William Cravens and wife both died in 1832, within two or three days of each other—she first. Their children were—

(14831) ROBERT—b. ——; d. ——, in S. C. in infancy.

(14832) MARGARET—b. ——, in S. C.; d. ——; m. Jeremiah Cravens, in Ky., son of Robert Cravens, "being second cousins." Removed to Missouri, about 1808, and thence to Arkansas.

(14833) ELEANOR—b. Nov. 1791, near Frankfort, Ky.; d.——; m. 1st, Henry Straim, in Ky., m. 2nd., in Mo., James McFadden.
See further record.

(14834) NANCY—b. ——; d. 1827 c; m. 1816 c, in Mo., Samuel H. Thompson, removed to Ill.

(14835) JEREMIAH—b. Nov. 20, 1796; d. Mar. 16, 1849; m. Mar. 28, 1818, in Madison Co., Mo., Kiturah (Kitty) Murphy, dau. of William and Rachel (Henderson) Murphy.
See further record.

(14836) JESSE J.—b. 1799 c; d. ——; m. in Mo., Martha Logan.

(14837) ELIZABETH—b. 1801 c; d. ——; m. 1826, in Mo., Moses Vandivirs.

(14838) NEHEMIAH—b. Dec. 15, 1803; m. 1825, in Mo., Sophia Thompson, d. 1862.

Removed to present Logan Co., Arkansas, 1831, where was living 1889. See further record.

(14839) FINIS—b. 1806; d. ——; m. 1830 c, in Mo., Susan McFadden.

(14840) ABIGAIL—b. 1808; d. ——; m. 1826 c., Squire Stiles.

(All but first two born in Kentucky.)

(1484) NEHEMIAH CRAVENS, ( ),—sometimes called "Mi.", or Michael Cravens,—son of Major Robert Cravens, (148), and wife Hester, born in Augusta, later Rockingham County, Virginia, migrated prior to 1802, to "Ohio County in the State of Virginia," where in 1806 he sold a tract of land on "Wheeling Creek" (see page 263.) He married Sallie McCullough (or McCullock), of Wheeling, present West Virginia. He resided for a time in Christian County, Kentucky, and from there moved to Washington County, Missouri, in which county he died. Following his death his wife returned to Wheeling. A son—

(14841) JESSE—m. Hester Cravens, (14811), the daughter of Jeremiah. See further record.

SMITH

(1485) MARGARET CRAVENS, ( ), the daughter of Major Robert Cravens, (148), and wife Hester, married April 2, 1792, Henry Smith, (b. 1758) the son of Capt. Abraham Smith, and wife Sarah Caldwell; surety Wm. Cravens. (See pages 199, 238, and 259.)

Abraham Smith was a brother of Col. Daniel Smith. He was a Captain in the French and Indian War from September 11, 1756 to April 19, 1760. Upon the organization of Rockingham County he became one of the first justices, and was the county's first County Lieutenant. He resided near North Mountain on a large estate called "Egypt". His children were two sons, of whom John (b. Dec. 16, 1775), the eldest, participated in the battle of Point Pleasant, as an Ensign in his uncle Daniel Smith's company, and was later a Revolutionary soldier. John married, in 1755, Mary Jane Smith, of Culpeper County, whose first husband was Silas Hart. Henry, the youngest son, inherited the home plantation. (See *Waddell*, p. 51.) One account relates that he later migrated to Ohio.

Henry Smith and wife Margaret, (1485), had issue—

(14851) BENJAMIN—removed to Kentucky.

(14852) WILLIAM—removed to Georgia.

(14853) ABRAHAM—

(See *Boogher*, p. 336.)

CLAN OF ALEXANDER HERRING

LINE OF WILLIAM HERRING

(1951) ALEXANDER HERRING, (1766-), the son of William Herring, (195), and wife Elizabeth, married in Rockingham, in 1793, (1797 ?), Margaret Reed Smith, (16511), the daughter of John Smith. (See page 390.) She was born in 1777, and at the time of her marriage her father was deceased, thus her mother's consent—surety Samuel McWilliams. It is related that four of her uncles served in Gen. Morgan's riflemen during the Revolution.

Alexander and Margaret Herring resided in Rockingham on a part of the original Herring land, near Dayton. In speaking of the grandsons of the pioneer Herring, the

CLAN OF CAPT ROBERT CRAVENS

1. LINE OF JOHN CRAVENS
2. LINE OF REV. WILLIAM CRAVENS
3. LINE OF JOHN CRAVENS

(141421) JAMES ADDISON CRAVENS (1818-1893), the son of John Cravens (14142), and wife Ann, born in Rockingham County, Virginia, was elected a Democrat to the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses of the United States, from Indiana, serving from March 4, 1861 to March 3, 1865; throughout the period of the War-between-the-States. (See introduction to Chapter XXII.)

In 1820, as a child, James A. Cravens moved with his parents from Rockingham, to Madison Township, Washington County, Indiana, where he attended the public schools. He settled near Hardinsburg, and engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock raising. During the war with Mexico he served as a Major of the Second Indiana Volunteers, in 1846 and 1847. He was a member of the State house of representatives in 1848 and 1849, and of the State senate 1850-1853. In 1854 he was commissioned Brigadier General of the militia. Following his second term in Congress, he was not a candidate for renomination. He was a delegate, in 1866, to the Union National Convention of Conservatives at Philadelphia, and two years thereafter, to the Democratic National Convention at New York. On retirement from public life he resumed farming pursuits. He died in Hardinsburg, June 20, 1893, and was interred in Hardin Cemetery.

About 1843, James A. Cravens married Susan Hardin, the daughter of Aaron and Sarah (Letherman) Hardin. Aaron Hardin was a wealthy landowner, and sponsor of the Methodist Church in the Hardinsburg community. He was from North Carolina.

James A. Cravens, and wife Susan, nee Hardin, had issue—

(1414211) AARON ASBURY—b. July 26, 1844; d. Nov. 26, 1926; m. Aug. 30, 1873, Rebecca Ella Schwartz.—"when his father went to Congress Aaron went to College, 'till 1864—Bloomington College; studied law, and edited a paper." Issue—

1. Frank—b. 1874; d. 1905.
2. James Addison—b. 1876, resides at North Henderson, Illinois.
3. Harry B.—b. 1878, resides in Pe Ell, Washington.
4. Anna—b. 1879, m. Mahlon Coombs. She, a widow, resides in New Albany, Indiana.
5. Martha—b. 1881, resides at Indiana Central College, Indianapolis.
6. Virginia—b. 1884, Dean of Women, Indiana Central College.
7. George—b. 1886, resides at Hammond, Ind.

(1414212) BENJAMIN HARRISON—b. 1846; m. 1st, Susan McIntosh; m. 2nd, Parthenia Harvey Cravens, widow of Frank Cravens; no issue. Resides in Hardinsburg, Indiana.

(1414213) MARGARET ELLEN—d. in infancy.

(1414214) VIRGINIA E.—m. WILLIAM DAVIS. She, a widow resides in Hardinsburg, Ind. Issue—

1. Susie—m. Dr. W. E. Patton, of Orleans, Ind.
2. Elizabeth—m. Fred Summers, of Hardinsburg, Ind.

3. Harriett—m. Claude Radcliffe, of Hardinsburg.
4. Nelle—m. Reare Phillipps, of New Albany, Ind.
5. Frances—m. Alvin Hancock, of Hardinsburg.

(1414215) ANNA—d. in young womanhood.

(1414216) JOHN ROBERT—m. 1st, Matilda McIntosh, (three children, all died in infancy), m., 2nd, Macey Henry. Resides in Hardinsburg, Ind.

(1414217) SUSAN—m. JOHN WILLIAM LAPPING, of Hardinsburg, Ind.
Issue—

1. Ray—m. Alice Bullington, resides in Paoli, Ind.
2. Edward—m. Verle Lewelling, resides in Mitchell, Ind.
3. Helen—m. Victor Davis, of Hammond, Ind.
4. Mildred—m. Raymond Burgess, of Paoli, Ind.

(1414218) ELLA—b. 1861; m. 1st, Dr. H. C. Foutz; m. 2nd, T. L. Hammond, of Salem, Ind., no children.

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2. LINE OF DR. JOSEPH CRAVENS

3. LINE OF DR. ROBERT CRAVENS

(141521) JOHN ROBERT CRAVENS (1819-1899), the son of Dr. Robert Cravens (14152), and wife Sarah, nee Paul and the grandson of the founder of Madison, Indiana, was born in Madison, November 22, 1819. He died at his hill top residence, "Fairmount," in the suburbs of the city, March 22, 1899, a distinguished Indianian, and for many years one of Madison's foremost citizens. As State Senator during the incumbency of Gov. Harry S. Lane, when the latter was elected to the U. S. Senate, 1861, leaving his office to be filled by Lieut. Governor Morton, Senator Cravens thereupon became acting Lieut. Governor. He served until 1863, in which year he entered the Union Army as disbursing officer with the rank of Major. After the war he was again reelected to the State senate, and following his retirement in 1870, was appointed judge of the Jefferson Circuit Court.

As a youth, John R. Cravens attended the State University, graduating at the age of nineteen. He read law in Madison in the office of Joseph G. Marshall. For some years he was associated with W. W. Page, Sr., in milling, but their property burned to the ground. About this time he was elected president of the Madison & Indianapolis Railway Company and of the Shelbyville & Columbus Railway, continuing in office until the reorganization of the properties, when he voluntarily resigned to become editor and proprietor of the Madison Banner, an organ of the Whigs. He was a brilliant and versatile writer, but finding the vexations of journalistic life not to his liking soon retired. Upon the slavery question becoming an issue, he took a bold and aggressive position, and was an outspoken free-soiler. As a natural born orator, of superb voice and fine scholarship, he had no superior on the stump. He was an irresistable campaigner, and as one of the organizers of the Republican party, became a leader.

He was a member of the State senate, 1856-7, 1860, and 1866-70, "and," remarks an authority, "his influence was paramount." During the Horace Greely movement, he became a Liberal Republican, and was placed on the ticket as a Democratic candidate for Lieut. Governor. The year thereafter, he was appointed to the Bench, serving an unexpired term. A memorial, adopted by the Madison Bar, 11th April, 1899, in marking his passing, testifies eloquently, that "he possessed the confidence of the entire Bar, and his decisions and opinions were characterized by that moderation, honesty, practical

common sense, justice and wisdom with which he discharged every public office duty. He was a just Judge." He served his city as school trustee for a number of years, and was trustee of the State University, and of Hanover College. In 1858 he became a member of the Presbyterian Church. "He was a gentleman of the old school," says a more extended account of his decease, "and in him was mirrored the stately courtesy, the quiet dignity and the cordial hospitality of the olden-time Virginian."

Judge Cravens married, in 1844, Drusilla Lanier, the daughter of James F. D. Lanier, and (first) wife. She was one of the belles and beauties of Madison, and retained her beauty to the hour of her death, which occurred a few years following that of her husband, as she neared the age of eighty.

LANIER

James Franklin Doughty Lanier, (b. 1800, d. Aug. 29, 1881), a native of Washington, Beauford County, North Carolina, was a prominent banker of Madison, and later one of the leading financiers of the country. He moved to Madison at the age of seventeen with his father, who in the War of 1812 was Major of "Lanier's Independent Battalion Ohio Militia." The family was originally a Virginia one, the immigrant, John Lanier, having settled in Virginia some time prior to 1676, when his name appears on the records. Two of his sons, Sampson and Robert, married Elizabeth and Priscilla, the daughters of Richard Washington. James Lanier, Sr., the great-grandfather of James F. D., served in the Colonial wars and was a member of the Provincial legislature of North Carolina. Becoming interested in raidroad financing, James F. D. Lanier settled in 1848 in New York City, where with Richard H. Winslow, in 1849, he founded the well known Wall Street banking firm of Winslow Lanier & Co. It was he, who, during the War-between-the-States, did so much in sustaining Gov. Morton of Indiana, with money and influence, in holding the State true to the Union cause. His old home at Madison, designed and built for him, by the architect Francis Costigan, 1843-4, one of the finest residences of its day, in the West, and now known as "The James F. D. Lanier Home," has been recently acquired by the State of Indiana, restored, and set apart as a memorial to him.

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Of a gentle, unassuming and truly charitable disposition, Drusilla Lanier Cravens was ever ready to assist in any undertaking that would relieve suffering, or help the needy. In her death Madison lost one of its most charitable and beloved ladies. She was the first president and organizer of the Drusilla Home for old and infirm ladies, at Madison, an institution christened in her honor a short time before her death, and was a liberal patron of the King's Daughters Hospital, also of Madison, the building of which she donated.

Judge John R., and Drusilla Lanier Cravens, had issue—

(1415211) JOHN PAUL—d. (prior to 1899.)
(1415212) ROBERT—d. (after 1899, and prior to his mother's death.)
(1415213) JAMES LAINER—(decd.)
(1415214) ALEXANDER—(decd.)
(1415215) WILLIAM JACKSON—resides in Madison.
(1415216) ELIZABETH GARDNER—m. W. R. DAVIDSON, (both deceased.)
Issue—
1. William—b. 1928, ("Billiy," now a ward of Miss Drusilla Cravens, below.)

(1415217) CHARLES L.—resides in Madison.
(1415218) JOSEPH MARSHALL—resides in Madison—see below.
(1415219) MARY LOUISE—m. John Sage, (both deceased.)
(1415220) DRUSILLA LANIER—resides in Madison—see below.
(1415221) FRANKLIN—(decd.)
(1415222) MARGARET—d. in infancy.
(All but the first two, and the last two, surviving children at the time of their mother's death.)

* * * * * *

Of the above—

JOSEPH MARSHALL CRAVENS, in 1902 was elected to the house of representatives of Indiana, and, aside from two intermissions, remained constantly a member of the legislature from then until his recent retirement, in 1930, as State Senator. In 1907, he did not run, and in 1915, he was defeated. He entered the Senate in 1919. Says the *Madison Courier*, of March 29, 1930, in quoting the *Indianapolis News*, regarding his retirement—"Joseph M. Cravens, or Uncle Joe, as he is familiarily known, is definitely out of the active participation in politics for the first time in more than thirty years. Although the veteran legislator from Madison has sung his "swan-song" on other occasions he insists that this time he means it and has rejected all efforts to induce him to become the democratic candidate for state senator from Ohio, Switzerland, Jefferson, and Clark counties, a district he represented for years in the state senate . . . Uncle Joe, on a visit to Indianapolis, Wednesday, explained that his retirement was permanent and that he intended to spend his days on his farm in the hills above Madison. 'What is the use of being a legislator any longer?' he said, 'All the legislative power has been delegated to boards and commissions."

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DRUSILLA LANIER CRAVENS, worthily named for her mother, through her generosity made possible the taking over by Indiana of her grandfather's home, at Madison, as a State Memorial. When James F. D. Lanier ceased to be a resident of the city, his unmarried children continued to occupy his home for a time, after which his eldest son, Alexander C. Lanier, succeeded to it by deed of gift, November 18, 1861. The latter resided there until his death, October 11, 1895. His widow died a few years later. There being no children, and his death removing the last male representative of his family from the State, the property gradually lapsed from its former magnificence, and more than once narrowly escaped being razed. The place however was retained by the heirs, and in 1918, Mr. Charles Lanier, the last surviving son of the original owner, acquired it, and presented it outright to the Jefferson County Historical Society, with the proviso, that should the society fail to maintain it for historical purposes, "it would revert to his niece, Drusilla Cravens." It proved too large a holding for the society to keep up. Definite steps were then taken by the Society of Indiana Pioneers, and other historical agencies, in the direction of State aid, with the concurrence of the Jefferson County society and Miss Cravens, who announced their willingness to surrender their respective interests in the title.

"Justice and courtesy demands," says Geo. S. Cottman, in his splendidly illustrated booklet descriptive of the memorial, "the acknowledgement in this brocure of the debt that is due to Miss Drusilla Lanier Cravens, granddaughter of J. F. D. Lanier. In the rehabilition of the place as a Memorial Home the nice task of finding, choosing and securing the furnishings, and of their arrangement within the house has been left

to her. She, far beyond any one else, was the logical person to undertake it, by reason of her expert judgement in such matters, her unflagging zeal and her natural interest as a scion of the family. Unwittingly the result is also a memorial to her taste. In addition to her services as above she has given outright to the collection many treasured family possessions. Last, but not least, she made the gift to the place possible by freely surrendering all right and title to a valuable piece of property to which she had claim under the conditions . . . . stated." (See, *James F. D. Lanier Home, An Indiana Memorial,* pub. by the Dept. of Conservation, of Ind.)

Both Miss Cravens and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth G. Davidson, contributed liberally to the furnishings of the home, two interesting details, in this connection, occurring in the halls—not to mention other rooms—one being a linen coverlet, furnished by the former, for the small day-bed in the alcove of the upper hall, the other being a tall grandfather's clock, furnished by the latter, for the lower hall. The coverlet was woven of flax spun by Miss Cravens' own hands on the small German wheel in the northwest bed-room. The clock was brought to this country from England by a Lanier, and has been in the family for generations.

Miss Cravens is versatile and highly talented. She is a prominent and much esteemed resident of Madison, where she and several of her elder bachelor brothers make their home together on the hill top overlooking the beautiful Ohio. She is an enthusiastic historian, and antiquarian, and has conducted much research in connection with the history of her country and of its early families, regarding which she is a discriminating authority, with a true instinct for accuracy and thoroughness. Her data includes many valuable records also touching on the history of her own family.

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3. LINE OF DR. JOHN CRAVENS

WIRT

(141431) MARY ELIZABETH CRAVENS (1822-1868), the daughter of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, married, April 23, 1842, at Gallatin, Missouri, Philip Richard Wirt (1815-1866), a merchant of Gallatin, and native of Kentucky, son of John Wirt and wife Mary Simms, married in Kentucky. They resided in Gallatin, where she died, March 1, 1868.

Phillip Richard Wirt, and wife Mary Cravens, had issue—

(1415311) MARY RUHAMA—b. April 24, 1843; m. Sept. 3, 1862, THOMAS JOHNSON BROWN, b. Sept. 3, 1832, d. Jan. 14, 1886. Resident of Gallatin, Missouri. Issue—

1. Maggie—b. June 10, 1864; m. June 10, 1890, THOMAS J. RAY, b. Jan. 23, 1864. Issue—
    1. Mildred—b. Apr. 14, 1891; d. Jan. 1893.
    2. Rowena—b. Oct. 24, 1893.
2. Bessie—b. June 20, 1867.
3. Corrinne—b. Jan. 25, 1870.
4. Ethel—b. Mar. 21, 1872.
5. Winnifred—b. Sept. 9, 1877.
6. Benjamin Wirt—b. Oct. 5, 1879.
7. Roe—b. Sept. 12, 1884.

(1415312) WILLIAM EDWARD—b. Sept. 8, 1847; m. Jan 8, 1873, Ella Marie Stark, b. Sept. 17, 1853, Hiram, Ohio, d. Apr. 1, 1889, dau. of J. Carroll

and Emily M. (Burdick) Stark. Residing at Horton, Kansas, 1891, where his wife died. Issue—

1. Edna Marie—b. Nov. 12, 1873, Allenville, Missouri.
2. Richard Carroll—b. Oct. 22, 1875, d. Sept. 16, 1876.
3. Frederick Cravens—b. Aug. 15, 1878.
4. Edith Elizabeth—b. July 7, 1881.
5. William Edward—b. Aug. 5, 1883.
6. Robert Leroy—b. Mar. 28, 1886.

(Last four born at Gallatin, Mo.)

(1415313) SAMUEL ANDREW RINGO—b. June 15, 1862; d. Aug. 7, 1875; drowned by accident in Grand River.

LEOPARD

(141532) SUSAN CAROLINE CRAVENS (1824-), the daughter of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, married, September 19, 1854, in Daviess County, Missouri, John A. Leopard, native of Morgan County, present West Virginia, son of Jacob Leopard, of Virginia, and wife Delilah Dowden, from Ireland. They resided in Gallatin, Missouri, where both were yet living in 1891.

John A. Leopard, and wife Susan Caroline Cravens, had issue—

(1415321) JACOB OSCAR—b. Aug. 10, 1855; m. Apr. 17, 1877, at Springfield, Mo., Belle Buckner. Issue—

1. Mattie Cravens—b. Nov. 23, 1878, Gallatin, Mo.
2. Augusta Eunice—b, Sept. 15, 1880.
3. Lula—b. Jan. 29, 1880.
4. Ethel Frankie—b. Jan ——, 1888.

(Last three born at Boliver, Mo.)

(1415322) CHARLES WILLIAM—b. Aug. 29, 1857. Residing near Gallatin, Mo., unmarried, 1891.

(1415323) FRANK BIDDLE—b. Mar. 4, 1859; m. Nov. 14, 1888, at Kansas City, Mary Merideth. Residing at Kansas City, 1890.

(1415324) JOHN CHAPLINE—b. July 20, 1861, Lawyer of Pattsonburg, Mo., 1890, unmarried.

(1415325) HOLMES DOWDEN—b. Apr. 20, 1863, (unmarried, 1890.)

(141533) ROBERT OSCAR CRAVENS (1827-), the son of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, born near Harrisonburg, Virginia, removed, as a child with his parents, to Franklin, Virginia, now West Virgina, thence to Gallatin, Missouri. In 1850, he "went across the plains," to Georgetown, Eldorado County, California, where for two years he was a placer miner. He was elected justice of the peace in 1853, and continued in office through several terms. In 1865, he began the practice of law. He removed to Sacramento, and in 1871, was elected State Librarian, which office he held twelve years. During Cleveland's administration, he was appointed Internal Revenue Collector. In 1890, he was elected police judge of Sacramento. He was a vestryman of the Protestant Episcopal Church—1897, and thereafter.

In a letter of February 22, 1904, dated at Sacramento, California, addressed to a member of the Ft. Smith, Arkansas, branch of the family, he mentions his great

grandfather, John Cravens, his grandfather Dr. Joseph Cravens of Harrisonburg, Virginia, his father, Dr. John Cravens, "who died at Gallatin, Missouri, in 1882," and his brother Jerre C. Cravens.

Judge Robert O. Cravens married, March 4, 1865, at Auburn, California, Mary Jane Robinson, a native of Wayne County, New York, the only daughter of Marion Minor Robinson (1820-1863), and wife Almira Van De Car (b. 1820, m. 1840), of New York. Issue—

(1415331) FANNIE ELIZABETH—b. Sept. 23, 1870; d. July 23, 1892.
(1415332) MARY RUHAMA—b. July 19, 1880.
(Both born in Sacramento, Cal.)

DARNELL—McDONALD

(141535) SARAH AMANDA CRAVENS (1832-), the daughter of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, born at Franklin, now West Virginia, married, first, February 3, 1848, James Henry Darnell, a native of Woodford County, Kentucky, who died about 1852. She married second, October 12, 1858, at Gallatin, Missouri, William Douglas McDonald, a native of Ross County, Ohio, the son of William McDonald, from Virginia, (d. 1832, in Ohio), and wife Mary Willis, from Maryland, (d. Dec. 1880, in Ohio.) Mrs. McDonald was residing at Jameson, Missouri, 1891. Issue—

Of JAMES HENRY DARNELL, and wife Sarah Cravens,

(1415351) MARY ELLA—b. Oct. 24, 1850, at Gallatin, Mo.; m. Sept. 26, 1871, JOHN NELSON HOWE, b. Feb. 6, 1847, Kirksville, Mo., son of Thompson Boyd Howe, and wife Zipporah Jane Thatcher. Issue—
1. Russel Boyd—b. Nov. 1, 1872, Macon City, Missouri.
2. Robert Cravens—b. July 16, 1875, Sacramento, Cal.
3. Frederick Nelson—b. May 19, 1881.

Of WILLIAM D. McDONALD, and wife Sarah Cravens,

(1415352) JOHN CRAVENS—b. Aug. 24, 1859.
(1415353) EFFIE—b. Apr. 7, 1861; d. Oct. 15, 1862.
(1415354) WILLIAM DOUGLAS—b. Dec. 25, 1862, residing 1890, Jamesport, Mo.; m. Aug. 29, 1888, in Grundy Co., Mo., Hattie Janet Etter, b. Mar. 9, 1866, Will Co., Ill., dau. of Jacob and Delpha Jane (Furguson) Etter. Issue—
1. Effie Delpha Jane—b. Oct. 9, 1889, Daviess County, Mo.

(1415355) AMANDA—b. Jan. 1, 1864.
(1415356) RUHAMA—b. Oct. 6, 1866.
(1415357) ELIZABETH—b. Feb. 26, 1868.
(1415358) JULIA—b. Mar. 7, 1871.
(Last seven born in Daviess Co., Mo.)

(141536) WILLIAM JAMES CRAVENS (1833-1883), the son of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, married in 1855, at Gallatin, Missouri, Mary Rebecca Bryan. They resided at Springfield, Missouri, where he died Aug. 10, 1883. Issue—

(1415361) MARY RUHAMA—m. J. H. Hyatt.

(141538) JEREMIAH CHAPLINE CRAVENS (1838-), the son of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, born in Saline County, Missouri, married, August 11, 1864, Annie Desloge Smith, born in Lawrence County, Arkansas, Sept. 16, 1843, the daughter of Robert Smith, a native of Georgetown, (Washington), D. C., (b. 1800), and wife Susan Harde McIlvaine, native of Potosi, Missouri. (b. Aug. 1818.)

Jeremiah Cravens attended the University of Missouri, graduating therefrom, July 4, 1860, as a B. A. and M. A. In 1861, he enlisted in the Confederate Army as a private. He served as aide de camp to Gen. Greene, and October 1864, was promoted to Lieut. Colonel. Following the war he began the study of law at Batesville, Arkansas,—1865. He returned to Missouri about 1868, and became a distinguished lawyer there. He settled at Springfield, where he was residing in 1891.

Col. Jeremiah C. Cravens, and wife Annie Smith, had issue—

(1415381) SUSAN—b. Mar. 13, 1866, resident of Springfield, Mo.; m. Oct. 11, 1887, William Edward Bowden (lawyer), b. Sept. 22, 1851, Henry Co., Tenn, d. Dec. 7, 1889, Thomasville, Ga. (no issue.)

(1415382) MARY BELLE—b. May 13, 1867; m. Oct. 11, 1888, Henry Clay Crow, b. Apr. 17, 1860, Pike Co., Mo. Resident of Springfield, Mo.

(1415383) ELIZABETH WIRT—b. Aug. 29, 1870.

(1415384) IRENE LEE—b. Aug. 2, 1872.

(1415385) ROBERT OSCAR—b. Feb. 4, 1874.

(1415386) JEREMIAH DESLOGE—b. Jan. 19, 1876.

(1415387) ZOE LOUISE—b. June 15, 1879.

(First two born at Batesville, Arkansas, last five at Springfield, Mo.)

(141539) EDGAR HOLMES CRAVENS (1840-), the son of Dr. John Cravens (14153), and wife Ruhama, born in Daviess County, Missouri, married, 1873, Love Keene, a native of Kentucky. They resided near Gallatin, Missouri, where in 1891, he was engaged in farming. Issue—

(1415391) EFFIE—

(1415392) JOHN MARSHALL—

(1415393) ROBERTA—

(1415394) CORRINE—

(1415395) DEAN DOUGLAS—

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3. LINE OF JAMES HARRISON CRAVENS

(141551) JAMES WILLIAM CRAVENS (1827-1876), the son of James Harrison Cravens (14155), and wife Sophia Capito, married, in Indiana, Mary F. Short. He served a year in the Mexican War, in the 3rd Regt. Indiana Volunteers, under Col. James Lane, following which he studied medicine at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and became a practicing physician.

(141553) JOHN OSCAR CRAVENS (1834-1914), the son of James Harrison Cravens (14155), and wife Sophia Capito, married, in Indiana, 1862, Margaret Hite. She was a granddaughter of Abraham Hite of Harrisonburg, Virginia, and wife Sallie, nee Cravens. (See page 415; also *My Recollections of Rocktown,* by Maria G. Carr,

p. 13.) Abraham Hite was a descendant of Joist Hite, the famous pioneer of the lower Valley. (See pages 117, and 382.)

John Oscar Cravens was a lawyer and banker of much ability and success in Indiana. He served throughout the War-between-the-States, in the 9th Indiana Volunteers, as a private, master sergeant, 2nd Lieut., and A. A. general, with the rank of Major, on Maj. Gen. Milory's staff. In 1888, he was elected a Presidential Elector of Indiana, his district including Versailles, his home city. He died at Versailles in 1914 Issue, six children two of whom lived to reach maturity, viz:

(1415531) GEORGE JUNIUS—b. 1869.
(1415532) THOMAS SMITH—b. 1872. (deceased.)

(141554) JOHN KENNEY CRAVENS (1838-1892), the son of James Harrison Cravens (14155), and wife Sophia Capito, born in Ripley County, Indiana, married April 1861, at Gallatin, Missouri, Fannie Catlett Frame, a descendant of two Virginia families of the said names, resident of Clark and Augusta Counties.

John Kenney Cravens was a distinguished lawyer of Kansas City, Missouri, "Out Where the West Begins." He was admitted to the Bar at Vernon, Indiana, when twenty-one years of age. He then removed to Gallatin, Missouri, and in 1865 settled in Kansas City. He achieved marked success in his profession, and was a prominent and influential man in all social and civic enterprises there. His death occurred in November 1892. Issue—

(1415541) JAMES HARRISON—b. 1865; d. Apr. 21, 1931. Attorney at law of professional and social distinction of Kansas City,—graduate of Williams College, (A. B.), and of Columbia University, (M. A.); m. ————. Issue—
1. John Kenney—(decd.)
2. Elizabeth—b. 1915.
3. James Harrison— b. 1918.

(1415542) LANIER—b. 1869; d. Oct. 24, 1917; m. Agnes ————. He served as 1st Lieut. of Artillery in the regular Army of the U. S., and resigned in 1909 for civil life in Canada. At the outbreak of the World War he enlisted with Haig's Canadians, and was killed in action near Ypres, France. Issue—
1. Frances Fairfax—b. 1905.

(1415543) JOHN SMITH—b. 1871; m. Dec. 1893, Mildred Mary Myers, dau. of George S. Myers, of St. Louis, Mo. Has resided since his marriage at Pasadena, California, where he is prominent in business and social life.

(1415544) FRANCES CATLETT—b. 1878; m. Oct. 1899, PAGE FRANCIS CARTER. Issue—
1. Marion Catlett—b. 1913.

EWING

(141555) AMANDA MEDORA CRAVENS (1841-1870), the daughter of James Harrison Cravens (14155), and wife Sophia Capito, married, 1860, John Henry Ewing, of Indiana. Issue—

(1415551) MARY CRAVENS—

(141556) JUNIUS EDWARD CRAVENS (1844-1920), the son of James Harrison Cravens (14155), and wife Sophia Capito, married in 1871, at Indianapolis, Indiana, Emilie S. Stewart. She and her parents were former residents of Maryland.

Junius Edward Cravens was a scientific dental surgeon of international fame, having practiced for several years in Paris. He settled in New York City, where his widow now resides (Riverside Drive) with the son first named below. During the War-between-the-States, he served as a Captain in the 83rd Volunteer Infantry of Indiana. Issue—

(1415561) GEORGE W.—b. 1872, Civil Engineer, New York City.
(1415562) EDWARD—b. 1874, (decd.)
(1415563) JUNIUS E.—artist, San Francisco, Cal.

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3. LINE OF JACOB KENNERLY

WOODARD

(141562) VIRGINIA ANN KENNERLY (1824-1874), the daughter of Major Jacob Kennerly, and wife Amanda Fitzallen (14156), nee Cravens, married John Woodard, of Indiana. About 1869, they removed to Illinois.

John Woodard, and wife Virginia Kennerly, had issue—

(1415621) CHARLES CRAVENS—b. 1850; d. Oct. 1929.
(1415622) AMANDA—d. aged about 1 yr.
(1415623) KENNERLY—d. aged about 10 yrs.
(1415624) JULIA BELLE—d. aged about 1 yr.
(1415625) OLIVE—resides in Illinois.
(1415626) CATHERINE (Kate)— (unmarried) resides at Shelbyville, Ind. (with family of James Kennerly,—see below.)
(1415627) JOSEPH ROBERT—d. 1916, c, aged 54 years; m. ————.
Issue—
1. a daughter—m. Rev. Jesse Bradberry, of Olney, Ill.

(141563) JAMES THOMAS KENNERLY (1833-1906), the son of Jacob Kennerly, and wife Amanda Fitzallen (14156), nee Cravens, married, 1864, Susan Virginia Syrcle (1842-1923), of Augusta County, Virginia. They resided in Shelbyville, Indiana, in which city their three surviving children now make their home as one family.

James T. Kennerly, and wife Susan Virginia, nee Syrcle, had issue—

(1415631) IRENE—b. 1865; d. 1929, unmarried.
(1415632) MARY B.—(unmarried.)
(1415633) JOSEPH ROBERT—b. 1869; d. 1927, unmarried.
(1415634) AMANDA MAY—
(1415635) MABEL—d. 1876, aged 7 mo.
(1415636) DALLAS E.—(unmarried.)

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2. LINE OF JAMES CRAVENS
3. LINE OF ROBERT CRAVENS

McMILLIN

(141631) NANCY CRAVENS (1832-), the daughter of Robert Cravens

(14163), and wife Catherine, married J. P. McMillin, of Chattanooga, Tenn. Issue—

(1416311) JAMES—d. 1888; m. Elizabeth Armstrong, (d. 1895), of Knoxville, Tenn.

(1416312) DAVID—m. Minnie Newman, of Crystal Springs, Miss. Issue—

1. Douglas—Capt., U. S. Army.
2. David—d. 1893.

(1416313) ANN—m. Atwell Thompson, Civil Engr. (both deceased).

LYLE

(141632) ELIZABETH CRAVENS (1834-1885), the daughter of Robert Cravens (14163), and wife Catherine, nee Roddy, married, 1854, George W. Lyle, of Tennessee, born 1828, died 1861.

George W. Lyle and wife Elizabeth Cravens, had issue, a daughter —

(1416321) KATE—b. 1860; m. 1889, Dr. GEORGE R. WEST, of Chattanooga, Tenn., b. 1858. Issue—

1. Lyle B. (M. D.)—b. Feb. 6, 1894; d. Feb. 24, 1930; m. Feb. 6, 1927, Henrietta Adams, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas.
2. George R., Jr.—b. Jan. 20, 1896; m. Nov. 21, 1922, Marian Daniels, of Cincinnati, O. Resides in Chattanooga, Tenn.

(Two infants, Thomas, and George, d. in infancy.)

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Of the above—

KATE LYLE WEST, and her husband, Dr. George R. West, are prominently identified in the cultural and social life of Chattanooga, where he is a widely known physician and surgeon. They reside on the Missionary Ridge—the historic heights to the east of the city, named for the early French missionaries, and the scene of the battle of 1863. Dr. West is a native of Green County, Tennessee, and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, 1883.

LYLE BATTEY WEST (1894-1930), was a most promising young physician, and surgeon, of Chattanooga, the medical director of Chattanooga Hospital, and the associate of his father. He was fatally injured in an airplane accident, as he was flying to Florida with a friend on a professional visit to the latter's wife, who had been injured in an automobile accident. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, class of 1921, and was a man of splendid part.

(141633) JAMES R. CRAVENS (1836-), the son of Robert Cravens (14163), and wife Catherine, married, first, Harriet Rogers. Following her death he married, second, Drucilla Lyle.

In a letter, dated at Ringgold, Georgia, January 25, 1889, and addressed to a member of the Arkansas branch of the family, he states that he was of the family of Robert Cravens, of Chattanooga, and mentions meeting James A. Cravens, of Indiana, a descendant of William Cravens, the brother of his (the writer's) paternal grandfather, whose name was James Cravens. He identifies William as having been a Methodist preacher, and further states that another brother of his grandfather was Joseph Cravens, a physican.

James R. Cravens had issue—
By first wife, Harriet, nee Rogers,

(1416331) ROBERT SPENCER—d. 1884, c; m. Evelyn Gordon.
Issue—
1. Harriet Ophelia—

(1416332) MARY—b. 1865; m. WILLIAM J. SAWYER, of Chattanooga.
Issue—
1. Robert Cravens—m. Rosalie Cunningham. Resides in Denver, Col.

By second wife, Drucilla, nee Lyle

(1416333) HENRY—m. Evelyn Matthews. Resides in Chattanooga.
(1416334) RUTH— (unmarried.) Resident of Chattanooga.
(1416335) JESSE—(unmarried.) Resident of Chattanooga.
(1416336) JAMES—Resident of Houston, Texas.
(1416337) MARVIN—Resident of Texas.
(1416338) LUCY—(unmarried.) Resident of Chattanooga.

ANDERSON

(141634) LYDIA CRAVENS (-1866), the daughter of Robert Cravens (14163), and wife Catherine, married William W. Anderson. Issue, a son—

(1416341) CHARLES CRAVENS—(decd.) m. Margaret Backman. Resided in Chattanooga. Issue—
1. John—Capt., U. S. Army.
2. William D. (M. D.)—m. Rosalie Slaughter. Residence Chattanooga.
3. Margaret—m. Charles Coffey. Residence, Chattanooga.

(141635) JESSE RODDY CRAVENS ( ), the son of Robert Cravens (14163), and wife Catherine, nee Roddy, married, first, Mary Ellen Brown, who died some years thereafter. He married, second, Ida Miller. Issue—

By first wife Mary Ellen, nee Brown,

(1416351) JAMES—
(1416352) CATHERINE—(unmarried.)
(1416353) TROWER—m. ————. Resident of Buford, S. C.
(1416354) ROY—m. ————. Resident of Atlanta, Ga.

By second wife, Ida, nee Miller,

(1416355) MARY—
(1416356) ROBERT—
(1416357) NANCY—
Last three residents of Buford, S. C.

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1. LINE OF MAJOR ROBERT CRAVENS
2. LINE OF WILLIAM CRAVENS
3. LINE OF JEREMIAH CRAVENS

(148355) WILLIAM MURPHY CRAVENS (1833-1919), the son of Jeremiah Cravens (14835), and wife Kiturah Murphy, born at Fredericktown, Missouri, married,

at "Glenwood," Ft. Smith, Arkansas, April 8, 1862, Mary Eloise Rutherford, (b. 1840), the daughter of Col. Samuel Morton Rutherford, a former Virginian, and wife Mary Eloise Beall, daughter of Asa Beall, and wife Jane Edwards. The last named was a daughter of John Edwards, Gent., and wife Susanna Wroe, of Burbon County, Kentucky. John Edwards was a descendant of Willam Edwards, Jr., of Virginia, who, in 1678, married Ann Harrison, said to have been the daughter of Benjamin Harrison, III, of the James River family. (See page 109.)

William Murphy Cravens was one of the outstanding lawyers of the Southwest, where he achieved unusual distinction through a practice of his profession for over sixty years. He was widely known in Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas, and practiced before the Supreme Court in Washington, D. C. He was tendered the nomination to Congress, which was equivalent to election, but declined. He enjoyed marked educational advantages in his youth; received his B. A. degree from what is now the University of Arkansas, and was carefully trained in the law. He served in the Confederate Army, 1861-65, attaining the grade of Captain. (In later life he was known by the old Southern courtesy title "Colonel.") He and his wife resided at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. His death occurred at Ft. Smith, January 2, 1919. Mrs. Cravens died in March, 1932.

Col. William Murphy, and Mary Eloise Cravens, had issue—

(1483551) MARGARET RUTHERFORD—b. Jan. 20, 1863; d. Feb. 14, 1863.

(1483552) ELOISE KITURAH—b. Oct. 5, 1864; d. Oct. 21, 1865.

(1483553) JERE MORTON—b. Oct. 25, 1866; m. at Ft. Smith, Ark., Oct. 5, 1892, Emma Sue Tippett. Resides at Ft. Smith. Issue—

1. Mary Agnes—b. Oct. 10, 1894; d. Oct. 20, 1900.
2. Jeremiah Morton—b. Oct. 2, 1901; d. Jan. 11, 1902.
3. Margaret Tippett—b. July 25, 1905.
4. William Tippett—b. Feb. 24, 1914.

(1483554) RICHARD KERR (Col.)—b. Mar. 16, 1869; m. at Ft. Smith, Ark., Nov. 16, 1891, Margaret May. Served in 1st, Army, A. E. F., as Adjutant Gen., Army Artillery, in France. Lieut Col. U. S. Army, 1923, stationed at Manila. Issue—

1. William M., (Maj.)—b. Nov. 22, 1892, at Houston, Texas, m. Nov. 17, 1923, at Grantwood, N. J., Alice Russell Thayer. Stationed at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, Feb. 1930. Major, U. S. Army. Issue—
    1. Alyn Thayer—b. July 22, 1930.

(1483555) WILLIAM BEN (Congressman)—b. Jan. 17, 1872; m. at Ft. Smith, Ark., Dec. 19, 1894, Carolyn Dyal. (see below.) Issue—

1. William F.—b. Feb. 15, 1899; m. at Ft. Smith, Ark., Feb. 16, 1926, Elizabeth Bliss Echols. Issue—
    1. William F.— b. Jan. 28, 1929.
2. Nancy Ellen—b. Aug. 12, 1900, m. at Ft. Smith, Ark., Jan. 1, 1921, WILLIAM MARTIN EADS. Issue—
    1. Nancy Cravens—b. Jan. 4, 1922.
    2. William M.—b. Dec. 19, 1926.

(1483556) DU VAL GARLAND (Col.)—b. Apr. 20, 1875; m. at Bristol, Va.-Tenn., June 21, 1905, Florence Lileen Fain. Supt. of Sewanee Military Academy, Sewanee, Tenn. (1923.) Issue—

1. Du Val Garland—b. Aug. 17, 1906.

2. William Murphy—b. Aug. 27, 1908.
3. John Fair—b. Feb. 10, 1912.
4. Mary Virginia—b. Mar. 12, 1914.
5. Thomas Rutherford—b. Feb. 4, 1918.
(first two b. at Bristol, Tenn., third at Murfreesboro, Tenn.)

(1483557) DAISY RUTHERFORD—b. Apr. 20, 1875, (unmarried.) Resides at Ft. Smith, Arkansas.

(1483558) RUTHERFORD RECTOR—b. Apr. 20, 1875; m. 1st, at Claremore, Okla., Mar. 26, 1901, Nancy Gordon Garrison, of Clarksville, Texas. She d. Sept. 16, 1920, at St. Louis, Mo. He m., 2nd. July 15, 1922, Kathryn Cochrane, of San Angelo, Texas. Residing at St. Louis, Mo., 1923.

Of whom—

WILLIAM BEN CRAVENS, was elected a Democratic Representative from Arkansas to the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-second Congresses of the United States, serving from March 4, 1907 to March 3, 1913. He attended the Louisville, Kentucky, Military Academy, the Staunton, Virginia, Military Academy, and was graduated from the law department of the University of Missouri, at Columbia, in 1893, in which year he was admitted to the Bar and began the practice of his profession at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. He was the partner of his father, and from 1898 to 1902, the city attorney of Ft. Smith. From 1902 to 1907, he was the prosecuting attorney for the twelfth judical district of his State. Following his election to the Sixty-second Congress, he was not a candidate for reelection in 1912, and at the end of the term resumed his practice of law, as a resident of Ft. Smith. (See, *Biographical Directory of the American Congresses,* 1774-1927, p. 858; also *Who's Who in America,* 1916-1917; and introduction to Chapter XXII, herein.)

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3. LINE OF NEHEMIAH CRAVENS

(148384) JORDAN EDGAR CRAVENS (1830-1914), the son of Nehemiah Cravens (14838), and wife Sophia, nee Thompson, was the third descendant of Capt. Robert Cravens, the Augusta County, Virginia, pioneer, of the Cravens name, to be elected to Congress. His cousin William Ben Cravens, above, was the fourth; a record believed to be unique, and certainly extraordinary, among the annals of the country.

Jordan Edgar Cravens was a native of Fredericktown, Madison County, Missouri. The year after his birth, he moved with his father to Arkansas. He graduated from Cane Hill Academy, at Boonsboro, now Canehill, Washington County, Arkansas, in 1850, then studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1854, beginning his practice in Clarksville, Arkansas. He was a member of the State house of representatives, in 1860. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1861, as a private, and was promoted to Colonel the next year, and continued in the service until the close of the war, when he returned to Clarksville. He was prosecuting attorney of Johnson County, 1865, and 1866. From 1866 to 1868, he represented his district as a member of the State senate. In 1872, he was presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Greely and Brown. He was a Democratic Representative from Arkansas to the Forty-fifth Forty-sixth, and Fourty-seventh Congresses, March 4, 1877, to March 3, 1883. In

2. William Murphy—b. Aug. 27, 1908.
3. John Fair—b. Feb. 10, 1912.
4. Mary Virginia—b. Mar. 12, 1914.
5. Thomas Rutherford—b. Feb. 4, 1918.
(first two b. at Bristol, Tenn., third at Morristown, Tenn.)

(14831?7) Daisy Rotherford—b. Apr. 20, 1875; (unmarried.) Resides at Ft. Smith, Arkansas.

(14831?8) Rutherford Rector—b. Apr. 20, 1875; in. 1st, at Claremore, Okla., Mar. 26, 1901, Nancy Gordon Garrison, of Clarksville, Texas. She d. Sept. 16, 1920, at St. Louis, Mo. He m., 2nd, July 15, 1922, Ruthyn Cochrane, of San Angelo, Texas. Residing at St. Louis, Mo., 1923.

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3. LINE OF NEHEMIAH CRAVENS

(14831?4) JORDAN EDGAR CRAVENS (1835-1914), the son of Nehemiah Cravens (14831), and wife Sophia, nee Thompson, was the third descendant of [illegible] Rodes Cravens, the Augusta County, Virginia, pioneer, of the Cravens name, to be elected to Congress. His cousin William Ben Cravens, above, was the fourth [illegible] believed to be unique, and certainly extraordinary, among the annals of the country.

Jordan Edgar Cravens was a native of Fredericktown, Madison County, Missouri. The year after his birth, he moved with his father to Arkansas. He graduated from Cane Hill Academy, at Boonsboro, now Cincinnati, Washington County, Arkansas, in 1857, then studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1858 [illegible] by practice at Clarksville, Arkansas. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1860. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1861, as a private, and was promoted to Colonel the next year and continued in the service until the close of the war, when he returned to Clarksville. He was prosecuting attorney of Johnson County, 1865, and 1866. From 1866 to 1868, he represented his district as a member of the State senate. In 1872, he was presidential elector on the Democratic ticket of Greely and Brown. He was a Democratic Representative from Arkansas to the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, and Forty-seventh Congresses, March 4, 1877, to March 3, 1883. In

1882, he was a candidate for reelection, but was defeated. He resumed his practice of law at Clarksville. From 1890 to 1894, he was judge of the circuit court. He died at Ft. Smith, Arkansas, April 8, 1914, and was interred in Oakland Cemetery, at Clarksville. (See, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, 1774-1927, p. 858.)

Judge Cravens married Emma Batson, daughter of Judge Felix Batson, member of Confederate Congress, and wife Jean Charnelsie Bettis. Issue—

(1483841) JEAN—m. Frederick B. Hallenberg, of Little Rock, Ark.
(1483842) SOPHY—m. John Walton Howell, of Hot Springs, Ark.
(1483843) JESSIE EDGAR—m. J. Smith Ownby, of Dallis, Texas.
(1483844) BATSON—m. John W. Guieck, of Ft. Smith, Ark.
(1483845) LOUISE—d. in infancy.

END OF RECORD OF CLAN OF CAPT. ROBERT CRAVENS

HISTORY
OF
AUGUSTA COUNTY,
VIRGINIA:

By

J. LEWIS PEYTON

Containing a Revised and Enlarged Index.
By Charles R. Carrier

Second Edition

BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA
1953

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C. J. Carrier

INTRODUCTION.

A county remote from the first scenes of European settlement in Virginia; not visited by whites until 1716; uncolonized till 1732, and organized less than a century and a half ago, appears to offer few materials for history. The Valley of Virginia, in the heart of which Augusta lies, was unknown to the whites for more than a hundred years after the landing at Jamestown. During this long period no effort was made to penetrate into what was supposed to be an impenetrable region lying beyond high and inaccessible mountains. No one ventured to overcome these obstacles of nature, and to enter a dismal solitude of irremediable barrenness and perpetual gloom, whose air was said to be infectious and mortal, the ground covered with serpents, the forests infested by wild beasts, and the indigenous inhabitants a race of fierce and brutal savages, hating strangers and implacable in their cruelty. It was only after the return of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" from their successful expedition over the mountains and into the Valley, that all previous accounts were discovered to be fabulous, and what was hitherto considered an accursed land, was found to be a delightful region, blessed with a delicious climate, rich fields, groves, shades and streams. From this period many persons seriously considered the question of making their homes in these hesperian regions, and within less than twenty years of Spotswood's return the Valley became the permanent home of Europeans. The early history of the discovery and occupation of the country west of the great mountains, so far as the present County of Augusta is concerned, is illustrated by few traditionary legends or incidents of border warfare, beyond the ordinary privations attending a new settlement, but when the entire territory which bore her name from 1738 to 1790, comes under view, it is eminently worthy of historical relation. A small remnant only of the adventures of our western pioneers is preserved. Much of the information, collected here and there from tradition, is uncertain and some of it absurd, yet we know enough as to their patient perseverance in subduing the wilds of nature; of their dauntless valor in their wars with the savages, (whose native co[illegible]e was

Land

THE HISTORY

—OF—

AUGUSTA COUNTY.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT LIMITS.

The County of Augusta was ushered into existence the 12th year of the reign of George II., as one of the shires of the colony of Virginia. No reason appears in the act establishing the county for the name, but it is believed to have been selected in honor of the Princess Augusta, wife of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and daughter of Frederick II. Duke of Saxe-Gotha. Frederick county was created at the same time, and it is said, with good reason, to have derived its name from the Prince of Wales himself. From the act, which we quote in full from Hening's Statutes, vol. 5, pp. 78–79, it will be seen that Augusta and Frederick are twin sisters:

ACT FOR ESTABLISHING THE TWO COUNTIES PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA NOV. 1ST, 1738.

I. Whereas, great numbers of people have settled themselves of late upon the rivers of Sherrando*, Cohengoruto and Opeckon, and the branches thereof, on the N. W. side of the Blue Ridge mountains, whereby the strength of this colony, and its security upon the frontiers, and H. M.'s revenue of quit rents are like to be much increased and augmented: For giving encouragement to such as shall think fit to settle there.

II. Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That all that territory and tract of land, at present deemed to be part of the county of Orange, lying on the northwest side of the top of the said mountains, extending from thence northerly, westerly and southerly, beyond the said mountains, to the utmost limits of Virginia, be

*Sherrando, or Shenandoah, signifies, in the Indian tongue, Beautiful Daughter of the Stars.

separated from the rest of the said county and erected into two distinct counties and parishes; to be divided by a line to be run from the head spring at Hedgman river to the head spring of the river Potomack. And that all that part of the said territory lying to the northeast of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue Ridge, shall be one distinct county and parish, to be called by the name of the County of Frederick and parish of Frederick; and that the rest of the said territory, lying on the other side of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue Ridge, shall be one other distinct county and parish, to be called by the name of the County of Augusta and parish of Augusta.

III. Provided, always, That the said new counties and parishes shall remain part of the County of Orange and parish of Saint Mark until it shall be made appear to the Governor and Council, for the time being, that there is a sufficient number of inhabitants for appointing justices of the peace and other officers, and erecting courts therein for the due administration of justice, so as the inhabitants of the said new counties and parishes be henceforth exempted from the payment of all public county and parish levies in the County of Orange and the parish of St. Mark; yet, that such exemption be not construed to extend to any of the said levies laid and assessed at or before the passing of this act.

IV. And be it further enacted, That after a court be constituted in the said new counties respectively, the court for the said County of Frederick be held monthly upon the second Friday; and the court for the said County of Augusta be held upon the second Monday in every month, and that the said counties and parishes, respectively, shall have and enjoy all rights and privileges and advantages whatsoever belonging to the other counties and parishes of this colony. And for the better encouragement of aliens, and the more easy naturalization of such as shall come to inhabit there,

V. Be it further enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this colony, for the time being, to grant letters of naturalization to any such alien, upon a certificate from the clerk of any county court, of his or their having taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and taken and subscribed the oath of adjuration, and subscribed the test, in like manner, as he may do upon taking and subscribing the same before himself.

VI. And for the more easy payment of all levies, secretary's clerk, sheriff's and other officers' fees, by the inhabitants of the said new counties, Be it further enacted, That the said levies and fees shall and may be paid in money, or tobacco at three farthings per pound, without any deduction.—And that the said counties be and are hereby exempted from public levies for ten years.

VII. Provided, nevertheless, That from and after the passing of this act no allowance whatsoever shall be made to any person for killing wolves within the limits of the said new counties. Any law, custom, or usage to the contrary hereof, notwithstanding.

VIII. And for the better ordering of all parochial affairs in the said new parishes, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the freeholders and housekeepers of the same, respectively, shall meet at such time and place as the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this dominion, for the time being, with the advice of the Council, shall appoint, by precept under his hand, and the seal of the colony, to be directed to the sheriffs of the

said new counties, respectively, and by the said sheriffs publickly advertised; and then and there elect twelve of the most able and discreet persons of their said parishes, respectively: which persons so elected, having taken the oaths appointed by law and subscribed to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, shall to all intents and purposes be deemed and taken to be the vestries of the said new parishes respectively."

The "utmost limits of Virginia," as expressed in this act for the western boundary of Augusta County, was the Mississippi river, beyond which were situated the French possessions known as Louisiana. This region was explored by the French in 1512 and partly colonized by them in 1699. In the year 1717 it was granted by the Crown to the Mississippi Company, but three years later was resumed by the Crown, and in 1763 was ceded to Spain, but was recovered by Napoleon in 1800. New Orleans was the southern and St. Louis the northern capital of these vast territories. The French claimed that their possessions extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence, a claim that ignored the rights of English colonists to any portion of the western territory, or country lying beyond the Ohio river. In support of their pretensions, the French erected forts and blockhouses at intervals from the great Lakes through the western part of Pennsylvania to the Ohio, then along the banks of that stream to its junction with the Mississippi, whence their chain of military posts followed the course of the latter river to its mouth. The English colonists, more particularly the people of Augusta, found themselves by these proceedings of the French, hemmed in—prevented all expansion westward. A conflict, then, between the two races, the French and the English colonists of Augusta, Pennsylvania and New York, was, under these circumstances, sooner or later, inevitable. A conflict in fact took place as early as 1753, on the banks of the Ohio, between some English settlers and the garrison of one of the forts already referred to. Both parties hastened to lay the story of their injuries before their respective governments. The consequence was a long and sanguinary war between England and France, in which half of Europe became involved.

In this war Braddock's defeat temporarily delayed, but could not avert, the final catastrophe. The superior numbers and indomitable resolution of the Anglo-Saxon in the end prevailed. Canada was conquered and the forts on the Ohio were necessarily abandoned. France, it is true, still retained Louisiana, which comprehended not simply the present area of that State, but, as we have said, a vast tract of territory extending from the Gulf to the 49° of north latitude, and from the Mississippi river on the east to the Mexican frontier on the west. The territory embraced within the French claim is now known as Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon and Washington. To the eastern limits of this vast region, the Mississippi river, the western

boundary of Augusta county, extended under this act, and from its ancient territory were subsequently carved the present States of West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and part of Pennsylvania. It is not our purpose to write the history of this extensive region, now the seat of many great and prosperous Commonwealths. Its history, however, cannot be altogether omitted in our work. It was part of Augusta county for over fifty years subsequent to 1738, was the native land of many of the savage tribes who harassed the border, the scene of the French and Indian war, and the wars of 1764, 1774, and of many civil and military expeditions, and, in fact, of continual Indian hostilities for forty years previous to 1794, when the brilliant victory at the Rapids of the Maumee by Gen. Wayne brought permanent peace to the frontier.

All the events occurring in this region from the first settlement of Augusta had more or less influence upon the fortunes of the people of the Valley, and the inhabitants of Augusta and the Valley were so involved in them that they form in some measure a part of our history.

ABORIGINAL POPULATION.

At the period, 1716, of Col. Spotswood's discovery of the Valley, it was the camping, hunting-ground or residence of numerous tribes of Indians. These tribes, while wandering in pursuit of game from place to place during a considerable part of the year, possessed a few scattered villages, comprising a limited number of habitations, of the most imperfect construction, where they were in the habit of passing their winters and where they left their wives, children and old men during their absence. Round about these rude villages some feeble and ill-directed attempts at agriculture announced the more frequented and permanent haunts of savage life.

Many learned disquisitions exist as to the origin of these red men, and it cannot be denied that the origin, history, languages, and condition of the aborigines present ample materials for speculation. Among the Central and South American nations, notably in Mexico and Peru, many evidences exist of a regular, but limited civilization, but for the most part the tribes of both North and South America were, on the discovery of Columbus, composed of roving savages in a brutal state of abasement. Notwithstanding the greater progress among some of the aborigines, and certain physical differences, the Patagonians being generally over six feet high and the Esquimaux less than five feet,—a race of deformed and diminutive savages who tremble at the sound of arms,—the varieties of complexion, etc., those scholars whose opinions are entitled to most respect are agreed that there are sufficient points of general resemblance in all the nations of North and South America to justify the belief that they are sprung from one primitive pair. Religion, philosophy, geology, history and tradition combine to teach that man was created in Asia, and that his

home after the flood continued in the high lands and lofty mountain regions of the Eastern continent.

While much obscurity rests on the question of the origin of the American tribes, it may be stated as the settled opinion that our continent was peopled from different quarters of the old world. Space will not permit us to enter into an examination of this subject, of the causes which drove the Asiatic tribes from their native seats, which impelled their march towards the northeastern portion of the Eastern continent, and finally brought them to the shores of the New World. In their route to America there was no particular obstacle. Behring's Straits, the water they are believed to have crossed, is only 39 miles wide; in it there are two islands, and in winter it is frozen over, so that quadrupeds as well as man can pass. And it has been well said that water is the highway of the savage, to whom, without an axe, the jungle is impervious. Even civilized man migrates by sea and rivers, and has ascended 2,000 miles above the mouth of the Missouri, while interior tracts in Virginia, New York and Ohio are still a wilderness. To the uncivilized man, no path is free but the sea, the lake and the river.

On supposed analogies of customs and language, some have thought the aborigines of the Tennessee Valleys and the plains of the Cordilleras were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, "who took counsel to go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt."—[II Esd. c. xiii, v. 40-45.]

Dr. Lang suggests the possibility of an early communication between the Polynesian world and South America, and while it is possible that it may have taken place, the better opinion is, as mentioned, that it was by Behring's Straits that America received her first inhabitants.

The following is a list of the various tribes who resided in or resorted to the Valley of Virginia in 1716-32, and they all spoke the same language or a dialect of it. This was the mother tongue of the natives from North Carolina to Massachusetts. This mother tongue received from the French the name of Algonquin, and under it all the wild tribes of this region were grouped:

I. The Shawanese, the most considerable of the Algonquin tribes, had their principal villages east of the Alleghanies, near the present town of Winchester, but their possessions extended west to the Mississippi river. Foote asserts (Second Series, p. 159) that the Shawanese owned the whole Valley of Virginia, but had abandoned it. He gives no authority for the statement, and we have found none in our researches. Of all the Indian tribes with whom our ancestors came in contact, the Shawanese were the most bloody and terrible, holding all other men, as well Indians as whites, in contempt as warriors in comparison with themselves. This estimate of themselves made them more restless and fierce than any other savages, and they boasted that they had killed ten times as many white people as

Sealed and delivered in presence of us all, the foregoing interlineation Rasures and writings on Rasures being first made.

WM. FRANKLIN, Governor of New Jersey.
FRE. SMYTH, Chief Justice of New Jersey.
THOMAS WALKER, Commissioner for Virginia.
RICHARD PETERS, } of the Council of Pennsylvania.
JAMES TILGHMAN, }
JOHN SPINNER, Capt. in the 78th Regiment.
JOSEPH CHEW, of Connecticut.
JOHN WEATHERHEAD, of N. Y.
JOHN WALKER, of Virginia.
E. FITCH, of Connecticut.
THOMAS WALKER, JUNIOR, Virginia.
JOHN BALTER, Interpreter for the Crown.

CHAPTER V.

As the people of the Valley were, considered as a religious community professing Christianity, divided into various sects and denominations, all justifying, explaining, and upholding their respective tenets, however various or contradictory, by an appeal to the same Sacred Writings, we shall, without any remarks as to the propriety or impropriety of any one or the other, give a concise sketch of their external situation, as conducive to general information and a right understanding of the Augusta colony. To observe some order, let us commence with the Presbyterian Church, the first established in Augusta. Brief allusion has been made to its most obvious temporal effects upon the civil characters of its members and the community. Our limits will not admit of an elaborate statement of the causes which led to the emigration of the Scotch-Irish and their settlement in America. Our county was principally settled by these religious refugees who left Ireland after the siege of Londonderry, the entrance of the Prince of Orange into London on the escape of James to France, the acceptance of the British throne by William and Mary, and the glorious revolution of 1688. We style this revolution glorious, not only because it aimed at just and worthy ends, but because established without any of those scenes of bloodshed and horror which have so generally been the accompaniments of even beneficial and desirable changes. The highest eulogium that can be pronounced upon the revolution of 1688 is, that it has been England's last; and the last, because, from the midst of servitude, the English people plucked freedom; from anarchy, order; obtained the authority of law, security for property, peace and happiness in their homes, and representative government, as it exists to-day in that country. The Bill of Rights passed by Parliament in 1689, which limits the Royal prerogative, and clearly defines the rights of British subjects, is the only written law respecting the liberties of the British people, except *Magna Charta*.

But we are wandering from our path. These matters cannot be reviewed here, however interesting in themselves, and however intimately connected with the settlement of our Valley. It must suffice to say, that after the siege of Derry, while the Episcopal Church was established in England and the Presbyterian in Scotland, the Irish, by whose bravery and sufferings mainly the Kingdom had been secured to the Prince of Orange, were compelled to pay their tithes to the Established Church, maintain their own ministers, and also suffer other disabilities consequent on an Establishment. And the prospects of the Presbyterians not being improved after Ireland was subdued by William, notwithstanding the passage of the Toleration Act, and favorable reports reaching Ulster from America, many were lured from their homes across the Atlantic. For half a century this emigration continued, and thousands of these poor sufferers found their way to our shores. Early in the eighteenth century they formed congregations in New England, some years previous to 1726 in Pennsylvania, and, as we have seen, came to our Valley in 1732, fixing their residence at Opeckon. Thence Lewis made his way to Bellefonte, and Presbyterian congregations were formed in Augusta by him and his Scotch-Irish neighbors previous to 1740. The Presbyterian Church, thus planted in the Valley, has become almost as much identified with the soil as the deep-rooted trees themselves. From its first seats in Pennsylvania and Western Virginia, it has spread throughout the West and South, becoming the prolific mother of churches in a vast region.

The colonial government, anxious to seat a white population west of the great mountains for the reasons previously mentioned, relaxed its rigor towards the Presbyterians and other Dissenters, and welcomed them, indeed, in 1732, and thereafter, to the upper country of Virginia. From the Scotch and Irish settlements in Pennsylvania emigrants began to pour into the Valley, as soon as the more fertile lands of Pennsylvania and Maryland were located. They were directed and encouraged to do so principally by Vanmeter, of Frederick, Beverley, of Augusta, and Burden, of Rockbridge. For mutual protection, social intercourse, and religious worship, they came in bodies composed of a number of families. If a more adventurous spirit penetrated deeper than usual into the forest, he was soon followed and surrounded by others. Within five years of Lewis' settlement at Bellefonte, so great was his own desire and that of the people for the ordinances of religion, that they sought to secure the services of a Presbyterian minister. On the 2d of September, 1737, a supplication from

edifice, handsomely fitted up, and the other in a substantial and well appointed frame church. Scattered throughout the county are a number of chapels and churches, in which services are held at regular intervals.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN AUGUSTA.

The Baptists differ from other sects chiefly in the mode of administering baptism, which, they conceive, should always be by immersion, and they reject the baptism of infants. There were many of this faith in Holland, Germany, and the north of Europe; in Piedmont and the south. Their first congregation in England was in 1607. As early as 1754, Mr. Stearns, a preacher of this sect, and several others, removed from New England to Opeckon, in the present county of Berkeley, where they formed a Baptist church, under the care of Rev. John Gerard. This was probably the first Baptist church founded west of the Blue Ridge in Virginia.

The first effort to plant a church in Staunton was in 1834, and in 183[illegible] Rev. Texas Freeman came into the county and labored as a missionary but soon left the work, owing to ill health. In 1849, Rev. T. W. Roberts was sent as a missionary to Nelson and Augusta counties.

In 1853, Dr. S. B. Rice came to Staunton, and a church was organized in the Town Hall by Revs. L. W. Allen, Samuel Harris and Charles Wingfield, with about twenty members. Major Wm. H. Peyton and S. F. Taylor were the principal members. L. W. Allen preached a sermon from John, ch. xviii, v. 36. Dr. Rice was elected pastor. Funds for erecting a church were raised, principally in Eastern Virginia, and the corner-stone of the present edifice was laid June 26, 1855, Rev. J. L. Burrows delivering an address in the Episcopal church. Dr. Rice was succeeded in 1857 by Rev. Geo. B. Taylor. Under Dr. T., the membership increased rapidly, the church debt was paid, and the General Association met with this church, in its first session west of the Blue Ridge, May 31, 1860. After the Civil War, 1865, most of the colored members were dismissed to form a separate organization. In 1870, Dr. Taylor, who had been appointed Chaplain of the University of Virginia, was succeeded by Rev. W. H. Williams. During his pastorate the Church continued to flourish and Prof. Hart's school was removed to Staunton. On Mr. Williams' resignation, Dr. Taylor was recalled, and was pastor till 1873, when he resigned, to accept the appointment of missionary to Rome. Rev. Dr. J. F. Deans was engaged to supply his place, and labored with great acceptance till July, when he removed from Staunton. In the following October 1873, Dr. Charles Manly became pastor, and served till 1880. He was an excellent pastor, and did more than any one, during his time, to build up the Church in the town and county, Rev. Thos. Hume, Jr., following Dr. Manly, and served till March 1, 1880, when Rev. J. M. Frost, Jr. took charge, and labored with such success that in 1882 more than one hundred new members have been added to the church. In the county

Rev. J. H. Taylor and Rev. C. F. Fry have done much toward building up the denomination. The Baptists now have six churches in Augusta and 891 members. Besides these, are two African Baptist churches in Staunton, Mt. Zion and Ebenezer, and a number of small chapels and churches throughout the county.

THE TUNKER, OR GERMAN BAPTIST CHURCH.

We are indebted to the Rev. Samuel Driver for the following brief account of the Tunker Church in Augusta:

The Tunker, or German Baptist Church, was first organized in Augusta about the year 1790, by Bishop Miller, the father of Bishop John Miller, who now resides near Mount Sidney. Rev. John Miller was the first Bishop permanently settled in the county. After the organization in 1800, the Church received accessions of members, and it was found necessary to district the county, and a Bishop, or Elder, was appointed for each district. The names of the districts are Mt. Vernon, of which the two Elders are Messrs. John Cline and George Wine; 2nd—Barren Ridge—Elder, John Bower; Middle River District—Elder, Levi Garber; 3rd—Valley District—Elders, John Miller and Daniel Miller; Fourth District is Moscow—Elder, Levi A. Wenger. In the above list is included all the Tunker churches in the county, but there are several branches or congregations who worship at different points in the county, notably, one at Union Hall, in the western part of Augusta; one at Jarman's Gap, in the Blue Ridge; and one every fifth Sabbath in the Episcopal Trinity chapel, near Hebron. The Rev. Sam'l Driver preaches thus four times a year in Trinity chapel. There are in Augusta about nine hundred communicants. In the United States the Tunkers have three colleges, the first at Huntington, Penn., the second in Ashland county, Ohio, and the third at Lanarck, Illinois. In connection with all Tunker churches there are Sunday-schools, and the Tunker community is justly celebrated for industry, integrity, and piety.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AUGUSTA.

Wm. E. Craig, Esq., has kindly furnished the following account of the Lutheran Church:

Among the early emigrants to the Valley of Virginia were many Lutherans, but we have no account of any organized Church in Augusta until about the year 1780, when a congregation was formed, and Coiner's Church built. This church is about five miles southwest of Waynesboro, and we think the first minister was Rev. Adolph Spindle. We have no list of his successors, but the present minister is Rev. Mr. Kuegle, and the number of communicants about 100. The first trustees and organizers of the church were Casper Koiner, Martin Bush, and Jacob Barger. The next church organized was Mt. Tabor, about the year 1785. We have no list of the former ministers, but the present minister is Rev. L. L.

Smith. The number of communicants in this church is about 250. Mt. Zion church, situated about six miles west of Middlebrook, was organized about 1830, with the following trustees: Martin Miller, David C. Arehart, and —— Weaver. Its number of communicants is about 100, with Rev. J. M. Hedrick as its present pastor. Under the charge of Rev. J. M. Hedrick is also Mt. Herman church and congregation, situated at Newport, organized about 1850 by Rev. C. Beard, with A. S. Craig, Wm. Black and David Hull as the first trustees and organizers. The number of communicants is about 75. 4th.—Bethlehem, near Fishersville, was organized about 1845, with the following trustees: Absalom Koiner, Cyrus Koiner, and David W. Coiner. Rev. L. A. Fox, DD., has served this charge for a number of years, and is its present pastor. Number of communicants, 150. 5th.—The second Mt. Zion church, near Waynesboro, was organized about the same time as Bethlehem. Its first pastor was Rev —— Bowman. Rev. C. Beard served this congregation from 1854 to 1881. Rev. J. H. Barb is the present pastor. Communicants, 100. 6th.—The congregation at Staunton was organized and the church built about 1850 by Rev. John B. Davis, DD., and George Shuey, B. F. Poins and George Baylor as the first trustees. Col. George Baylor was mainly instrumental in organizing this congregation and building the church. The lot was purchased and the church built by the "Virginia Synod," together with the aid given it by Col. Baylor and other representatives o that Synod, under the charge of Col. Baylor as principal superintendent. Rev. J. B. Davis, DD., was the first pastor, Rev. D. M. Gilbert. DD., th second, Rev. J. I. Miller the third, Rev. M. R. Minnick the fourth, an Rev. J. B. Haskell, the fifth. Number of communicants, about 20. 6th.—Salem church is located near Mt. Sidney, and was built about 184 It has been served by the pastors in connection with Mt. Zion, No. 2. I number of communicants is about 100. Its present pastor is Rev. A. C Gearhart. 7th.—The Churchville church was built also about 1850, unde the supervision of Rev. J. B. Davis, DD. Rev. C. Beard is now serving as a supply. Number of communicants, about 75. 8th.—Bethany, ne Waynesboro, and Pleasant View, near Staunton, have been organize within the past five years. The Bethlehem minister serves Bethany, a the Staunton minister Pleasant View. The number of communicants each church is about 75.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, at Staunton, is situated on a beautiful site the east side of Augusta street, in a fine grove of maples and other nati trees. The edifice, a substantial brick structure, was built in 1850, the l which embraces half a square, being donated by the late M. Quinl Esq. Until about the year 1841, there were but one or two Catholic fam lies in Staunton. The Rev. Daniel Downey made missionary journeys this section from Lynchburg, and labored with such success that in

year 1850 he was enabled to gather a flock around him sufficiently large to form the nucleus of a congregation. With zeal they undertook the erection of the church, the reverend gentleman's most active helpers being Messrs. M. Quinlan and Patrick McAlear. Having thus secured a handsome house of worship, Rev. Downey became the pastor, and continued to minister to the spiritual wants of the congregation until 1857, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. T. A. Sears, who served until 1859. From 1859 to 1861, the church was supplied from Richmond. Rev. Jos. Bixio, a Jesuit, then became the pastor, and continued in that relation until 1866, when he was succeeded by Rev. J. A. Weed, who died in March, 1871. His successor was the Rev. John McVerry, the present pastor. During his pastorate, the Rev. McVerry has been aided by the following assistant pastors, viz: Rev. J. A. G. Riley, Rev. Peter Fitzsimmons, Rev. H. J McKeefry, and the present assistant, Rev. G. T. O'Ferrall. The church has prospered. Its membership now reaches 700. The church property embraces a handsome brick parsonage. The parochial school was, in 1878, placed under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, and since then a commodious and imposing brick structure has been erected for educational purposes. The school itself has made marked progress, and promises, ere long, to be abreast of Staunton's most flourishing seminaries of learning.

CHAPTER VII.

With the first colonist to Virginia came a clergyman of the Established Church, and from that time onward the Church was protected and fostered in Virginia. Non-conformists were expelled from the colony, and a fine of 5,000 pounds of tobacco was exacted from participants in the meetings of Dissenters. Papists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, were alike persecuted, and those who even entertained a Quaker were liable to a heavy fine. The first sect to make head against this intolerance was the Presbyterian, under Rev. Francis Makemie, and the Scotch-Irish settlers of our Valley. About the year 1698, this intolerant spirit began to decline, and by the year 1776, more than half the people of Virginia were Dissenters, and during the war, the Church went down, apparently unregretted. The course and reason of the change can be readily followed. The reaction which ensued after the intense spiritual excitement of the seventeenth century produced a species of religious lethargy in the eighteenth. Frigid

morality, a well-bred abhorrence of anything like zeal, and a worldly indifference, characterized the English clergyman of the latter period and their Virginian brethren. The colonial ministers, as a class, were ruder and narrower than those of the mother country, and their coldness and indifference to great religious principles showed themselves more plainly and coarsely. Religion declined, and "paganism, atheism and sectaries" began to prevail. "Quakers," says Byrd, "prevail in Nansemond county, for the want of ministers to pilot the people a better way to heaven." Advantage was taken of this relaxation by the Presbyterians, who exacted, as we have seen, from Gov. Gooch, promises of toleration to those of their faith. Their eloquent and earnest men, however, soon aroused the latent hostility of the ruling Church, and Gooch himself joined in the resistance to the new doctrines. But the Dissenting sects were full of vitality, and grew apace, while the Established Church, maintained simply as a part of the social system, declined with proportionate rapidity. The success of the Revolution, and the withdrawal of support, caused the Church to fall into ruins.

The Church of England was, as we have said, established by law in Virginia, to the exclusion, and without toleration of any other denomination. The Act of Conformity, passed by the British Parliament, was acknowledged as law, and carried into execution by the magistrates. It must be remembered, however, that while the Church of England was thus recognized, from the settlement at Jamestown down to the Revolution, it was, during this long period of 170 years, kept in a state of bondage to the Government, which never allowed it to organize. For political reasons, it was not permitted to have a bishop, and there were no ordinances or confirmations in Virginia during the whole colonial period. Candidates for orders had to make the voyage to England. The Church was not only denied an executive head, but it had no legislature. It had no authority to pass a law, enact a canon, or inflict a penalty, not even for the discipline of its own ministers and members, and it never performed one of these functions. And this enslavement, no doubt, impaired its spirit, and rendered it less active in the cause of religion than would otherwise have been the case.

In the previous chapter, we have referred to some of the minor reasons which begot a spirit of liberality early in the eighteenth century with the colonial authorities in their policy towards Dissenters west of the Blue Ridge, namely: A desire to erect a barrier against the encroachments of the Indians. Such motives doubtless had their weight with men like Gooch, but there was a deeper and broader motive beginning to influence the people of Virginia, and which showed itself conspicuously at a later period. This was their hostility to the establishment of any religion in America by the British Parliament. This feeling, which existed long before the Revolution, led the sages of 1776 to unite afterwards in destroying all ecclesiastical establishments by the bill for religious freedom, which was passed by the General Assembly of Virginia December 16, 1785.

Though the Episcopal was the established religion, no church existed in Augusta previous to 1746, and Rev. Joseph Doddridge, DD., the first minister of the Episcopal Church who visited the regions of Western Virginia and Eastern Ohio, in his "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania, from 1763 to 1783," thus speaks upon the subject of this apathy and neglect:

"The Episcopal Church, which ought to have been foremost in gathering their scattered flocks, had been the last and done the least of any Christian community in the evangelical work. Taking the western country, in its whole extent, at least one-half of its population was originally of Episcopalian parentage, but for want of a ministry of their own, they have associated with other communities. They had no alternative but that of changing their profession, or living and dying without the ordinances of religion. It can be no subject of regret that these ordinances were placed within their reach by other hands, whilst they were withheld by those by whom, as a matter of right and duty, they ought to have been given. One single suffragan bishop, of a faithful spirit, who, twenty years ago, should have ordained these elders in every place where they were needed, would have been the instrument of forming Episcopal congregations over a great extent of country, and which, by this time, would have become large, numerous and respectable; but the opportunity was neglected, and the consequent loss to this Church is irreparable. So total a neglect of the spiritual interest of so many valuable people, for so great a length of time, by a ministry so near at hand, is a singular and unprecedented fact in ecclesiastical history, the like of which never occurred before. It seems to me that if the twentieth part of their number of Christian people, of any other community had been placed in Siberia, and dependent on any other ecclesiastical authority in this country, that that authority would have reached them many years ago with the ministration of the Gospel. With the earliest and most numerous Episcopacy in America, not one of the Eastern Bishops has yet crossed the Alleghany Mountains, although the dioceses of two of them comprehended large tracts on the western side of the mountains. It is hoped that the future diligence of this community will make up, in some degree, for the negligence of the past. There is still an immense void in this country, which it is their duty to fill up. From their respectability, on the ground of antiquity among the reformed churches, the science of their patriarchs, who have been the lights of the world, from their number and great resources even in America, she ought to hasten to fulfill the just expectations of her own people, as well as those of other communities, in contributing her full share to the science, piety and civilization of our country. From the whole of our ecclesiastical history, it appears that, with the exception of the Episcopal Church, all our religious communities have done well for their country."

Bishop Meade differs with Dr. Doddridge as to the percentage of Episcopalians in the population, and assigns very reasonable causes for his belief; but as Dr. Doddridge wrote of a country in which he lived, and

"The first settlers at the head of Mossy Creek, who located the lands at and around the site of the present village, were Robert Gregg, W. McDougal, and Adam Stephenson. These lands were granted to them by Lord Botetourt in the year 1769, or prior thereto, and adjoined the lands of Samuel McPheeters and Col. Stephenson. A log house was built by a Mr. Cochran, about 1799, which is now standing and occupied as a residence, and a mill to the north of it. The log house was first used as a store by the firm of Cochran & Cravens—Dr. Joseph Cravens. This property was afterwards purchased by John and Christian Landes. One occupied the original log house, and the other built a similar residence on the north side of the forks of the road, which was subsequently demolished by Gabriel Judson, of Luray, and on its site the present commodious store-house built. They also erected a small log house on the site of the present brick mill-house, which was occupied by a Mr. Decker, the grandfather of Capt. J. F. Hottle, now of the village. The two Landes also erected a distillery on the south side of the dam, and a saw-mill on the north side of the forebay of the present mill. On the left side of the road, south of the creek, opposite the Cochran house, was erected a small log dwelling and smith shop, occupied and carried on by a Mr. Joseph Shuey. A school-house was about this time, or not long subsequently, built at the bend of the Staunton road. John Landes built a barn back of the smith shop on the side of the hill, and Christ. Landes built his barn a couple of hundred yards west of his house, on the North River Gap road. About the year 1818, the Landes sold the mill property and land attached to Wm. Cave (a brother-in-law of Abram Smith, who owned the farm called Egypt, on North River), and shortly after the sale the mill was burned down. Cave employed John and James Elliott and a Mr. Johnson, millwrights, to rebuild the merchant mill and saw-mill, and James Frazier, of Jenning's Gap, put up a store on the north side of the dam, and employed a Mr. J. H. Bell to carry it on. Afterwards Bell and B. A. Ervine, both sons-in-law of Cave, bought out Frazier, and erected dwelling-houses on the lot adjacent to the store-house, and carried on the mercantile business until 1835. Cave also erected the brick mill-house, about the year 1827. About the year 1827, Jacob Daggy opened a tan-yard below the mill, and put up a brick dwelling-house—property now owned by J. E. Bolen. The village, with its varying fortunes, has continued ever since. In 1835. E. Stevens, of Rockingham county, and Henry Blakemore, of Miller's iron-works, bought out the firm of Bell & Ervine, and Mr. Blakemore, who was postmaster at the iron-works, by consent of the department, removed the post-office to his store, and the town was thenceforth christened Mt. Solon. On Friday, the 20th day of March, 1860, the greater part of the village was burned down. At present the village contains thirty-four dwelling-houses, one M. E. Church South, ten shops, nine of which are in operation, viz: two shoe-shops, one smith shop, one pump-maker, one wheelwright and chair-maker, two cabinet-makers; one tannery and five store-houses, three occupied and in successful operation; one wagon and agricultural implement maker, one architect and house carpenter, and 150 inhabitants; is seventeen miles from Staunton, fourteen miles from Harrisonburg, five miles from Stribling Springs, and seven miles from the Dora Coal Mines and Wooddell's Springs. We also have one school-teacher, two lighting-rod peddlars, numerous nostrum venders, a Commissioner of Revenue, and the residence of the County Treasurer, and the usual proportion of gentlemen of leisure, and a physician."

MOUNT MERIDIAN is situated about 18 miles northeast from Staunton, on the Port Republic road, and has a population of 40. It has a large flouring-mill, a store, wagon-maker's shop, smithy, resident physician. There is a large builder's and contractor's shop here, and a church.

MOUNT SIDNEY is situated about 10 miles from Staunton, on the Valley turnpike, and has a population of 244. It has a post-office, churches, stores, workshops, physicians, &c., and is a highly prosperous village. The B. & O. Railroad passes on the outskirts, where there is a station.

MIDDLEBROOK is 12 miles south of Staunton, and has a population of 274, and is one of the most enterprising and prosperous villages in the county, having numerous stores, shops, &c.

MINT SPRING is situated 6 miles south of Staunton, on the Lexington road, and has a population of about 75, a church, blacksmith's shop, stores, &c. It is a station on the Valley Railroad.

MIDWAY is half-way between Staunton and Lexington, and has a population of 76. It has a church, two stores, smithy, a resident physician, &c.

NEW HOPE is 10 miles from Staunton, on the road to Weyer's Cave, and has a population of about 200. It has one church, a Tunker church near, two stores, two resident physicians, a graded school, and the usual workshops belonging to a thriving village.

NEWPORT is situated on the Brownsburg road, 18 miles from Staunton, and has a population of 102.

PEYTONSVILLE. On the beautiful grounds at the intersection of Fair Ground avenue and the Parkersburg road, and north of those handsome thoroughfares, a plat of the streets and lots of this village has been made. In the opinion of many, it is destined to become the most attractive place of residence in the neighborhood of Staunton. The present population, on the Steep-hill estate, on which the lots lie, is 30.

PIEDMONT is 2 miles east of New Hope, and famous as the scene of a bloody engagement during the civil war.

STUART'S DRAFT is a post-office and village about 8 miles from Staunton, on the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, with a population of about 50, and is situated in the midst of one of the richest and most prosperous sections of the county.

SPRING HILL is situated 8 miles northwest of Staunton, and has a population of 132. It is a post-office, has two churches, carriage and wagon-maker, blacksmith, physician, and two stores. It is a thriving and advancing village.

SANGERSVILLE is a post-office and village north of Staunton 22 miles. It has a store, blacksmith shop, two churches, and is a thriving little town of 75 to 100 inhabitants.

VERONA is on the Valley turnpike, about 6 miles north of Staunton, and

THE UPPER SHENANDOAH VALLEY OF VIRGINIA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A STUDY IN

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

by

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sectional differences betwen the back country and the coast.[14] He was concerned more with pioneer characteristics than with socio-economic development. A few economic historians, such as Bogue and Swierenga, have made solid contributions to the understanding of the changes which have occurred in frontier areas over a considerable period of time. Yet emphasis on tracing the effects of the continually westward-moving frontier on individual human institutions, at the expense of the more "vertical" approach of tracing changes within regions beyond the period of pioneer settlement, still tends to be a characteristic of contemporary frontier historiography.[15]

The most severe criticisms of the frontier analysis of Virginia settlement have come from Thomas P. Abernethy and Carl Bridenbaugh. Abernethy has worked longest on the history of the westward movement in Virginia.[16] He has particularly ridiculed the notion that independent pioneers settled the Shenandoah Valley entirely on their own freedom and initiative. "Geographical conditions played their part; but from Germanna to the Holston, the legislator and the speculator were essential factors in the course of westward migration."[17] He also conceived of the frontier advance in Virginia as being as much an extension of an "Atlantic frontier" westward as of a Pennsylvania frontier southward. He pointed out that there was no regular occupational succession in the Shenandoah Valley (to the point of stating categorically that "the herdsman never existed"),[18] and that the land was occupied from the first by substantial small-scale farmers rather than by squatters. However, he followed the Turnerian custom of emphasizing the self-sufficiency aspect of back country economy and the cultural differences between Scotch-Irish and Germans in terms of land settlement and agricultural practices. Following the practices

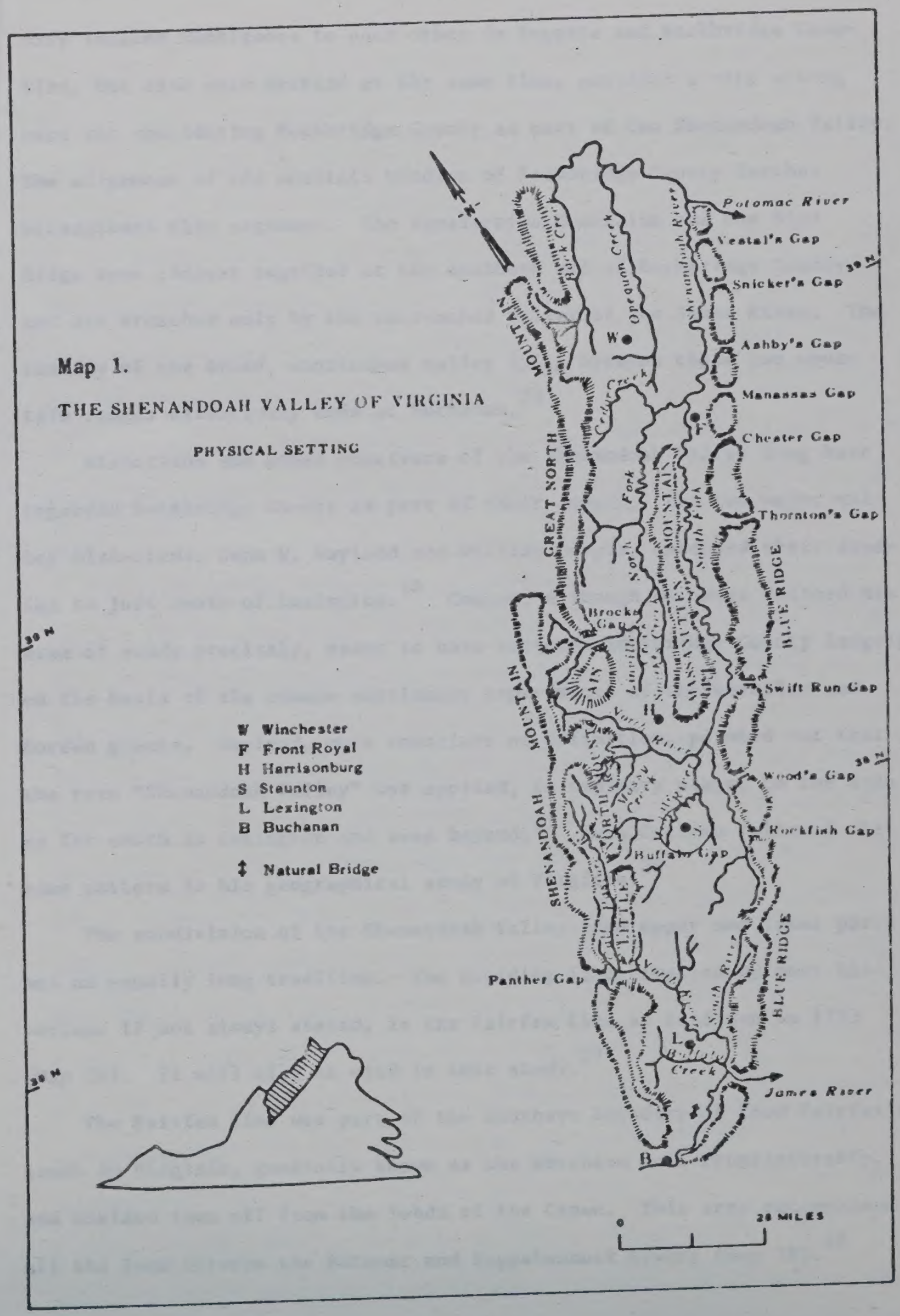
of other frontier historians before him, he provides no factual evidence to suggest the degrees of land speculation which it was possible to find in the interior.

Carl Bridenbaugh's study of the Southern back country in his book, Myths and Realities, is the most comprehensive discussion yet published of the entire area.[19] He made a better attempt than any other historian at both regionalizing eighteenth century interior areas and describing their early processes of land settlement, pioneer mobility, agricultural change, trade, and socio-economic development. His comparative approach was an important step toward a fuller understanding of the areal variations which he showed existed at the level of his analysis, that is, of the entire Southern back country based upon contemporary travel accounts and secondary sources. He over-reached himself occasionally in making sweeping generalizations about agricultural development and tended to underestimate the degree to which commercialization was present in the back country. Relying on earlier accounts, he reiterates generalizations about the nature of the early vegetation cover and the superiority of German farmers, which have relatively little foundation in fact.[20] His discussion of cultural groups as a whole tends to be overgeneralized and impressionistic.

Only one good study using original county, church, and personal records has been published for the Shenandoah Valley. This is Freeman H. Hart's book, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789.[21] It is an extremely comprehensive study of the area from the Potomac River to the southern boundary of Botetourt County, just north of present-day Roanoke. This area extends considerably farther south than the southern boundary of Rockbridge County which marks the limit

of the Shenandoah Valley on a county basis. Having no particular focus, Hart's study contains a great deal of material on social, political, religious, and educational affairs, some of which has little relevance for understanding the area's eighteenth-century geography. While he made some important observations on the development of trade and trading connections, he had little to say about land acquisition and speculation. His choice of time period is in some ways unfortunate, since for over one-third of it, 1775 - 1795, economic conditions were strongly influenced by the artificial demands of the Revolutionary War and its immediate aftermath. The war produced some profound spatial readjustments in the processes of commercial activity in the upper Shenandoah Valley, of which Hart was only vaguely aware. His attempts to map some of his research findings leave much to be desired in terms of accuracy and methods of representation. Nevertheless, as the only detailed historical examination of the Shenandoah Valley, Hart's work will be referred to frequently in later parts of this study.

Since Hart was concerned with the entire Valley of Virginia as it was organized administratively in 1770, he did not encounter the problem of precisely defining the Shenandoah Valley. However, for the purposes of this study, such a definition is of more than passing interest. In purely physical terms the concept of the Shenandoah Valley might be defined in two ways. Structurally and topographically, the Shenandoah Valley is that part of the Valley of Virginia lying between the Blue Ridge on the east, and the first of the many ridges of the Valley and Ridge country that comprises the heart of the Appalachian rangelands on the west, and drained by the Shenandoah River, its tributaries, and associated streams (Map 1). This is the most commonly accepted use of



Map 1.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY OF VIRGINIA

PHYSICAL SETTING

the term in the physical sense. Hydrographically, the Shenandoah Valley could also be regarded as encompassing the entire drainage basin of the Shenandoah River, which includes areas lying beyond the Appalachian Mountains in present-day West Virginia. Neither of these two concepts directly coincides with any county or other administrative unit. The eastern boundaries of all the valley counties do coincide generally with the crest of the Blue Ridge but, in the west, county boundaries were not drawn with reference to any one ridge of mountains (see Map 6). Present-day Berkeley County and most of western Frederick County are not drained by the Shenandoah River but by Back Creek and Opequon Creek, independent tributaries of the Potomac. Moreover, the extreme western and southern parts of Augusta County and the entire county of Rockbridge would be excluded from a strictly physical definition of the Shenandoah Valley, since they drain to the James River.[22]

When one includes man's occupance and use of the area in a definition of the Shenandoah Valley the result, while less clear-cut, is to extend the valley much farther to the south. This is based primarily on the settlement history of the area and on the traditional definition as used by local settlers and historians. Despite some gaps in the spatial continuity of early settlement expansion southward through the Shenandoah Valley, most of the area between the Potomac and the James Rivers was settled between 1730 and 1776. This continuity of settlement history was lacking in Southwest Virginia. The more rugged, broken terrain in this area did not allow for broad areas of continuous settlement. The basic settling process here was a development around isolated pockets of settlement. Moreover, the fact that the two largest land grants within the entire Valley of Virginia, Beverley Manor and Borden's Tract, were not

only located contiguous to each other in Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, but also were settled at the same time, provides a very strong case for considering Rockbridge County as part of the Shenandoah Valley. The alignment of the mountain borders of Rockbridge County further strengthens this argument. The Appalachian Mountains and the Blue Ridge come closest together at the southern end of Rockbridge County, and are breached only by the entrenched valley of the James River. The reality of one broad, continuous valley lying between these two mountain ranges effectively ends at Buchanan.[23]

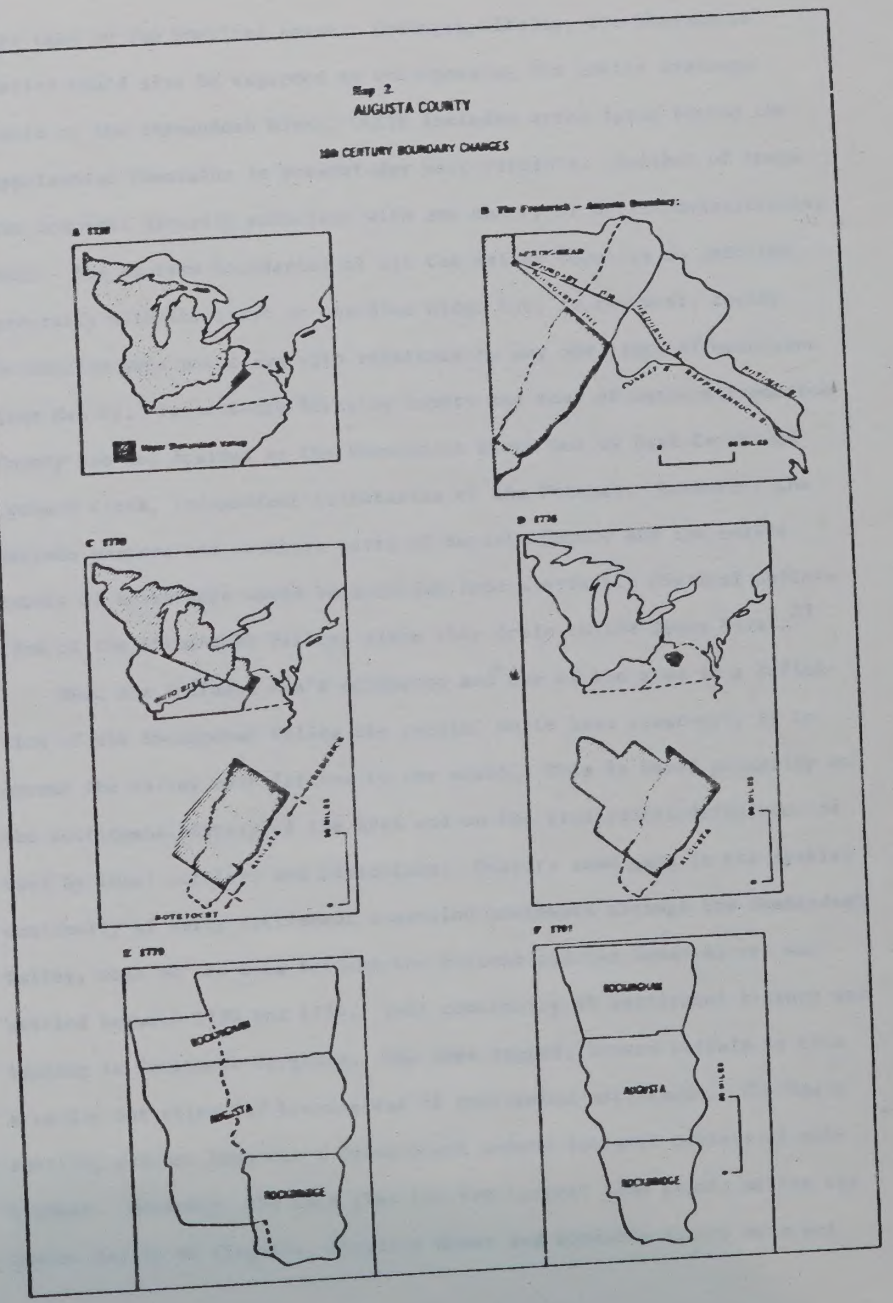
Historians and other observers of the Shenandoah Valley long have regarded Rockbridge County as part of their domain. The two major valley historians, John W. Wayland and William Couper, extended their studies to just south of Lexington.[24] Couper, although he never defined his area of study precisely, seems to have included Rockbridge County largely on the basis of the common settlement experiences of the Beverley and Borden grants. Wayland, more conscious of definition, pointed out that the term "Shenandoah Valley" was applied, in ordinary usage, to the area as far south as Lexington and even beyond.[25] Jean Gottman followed the same pattern in his geographical study of Virginia.[26]

The subdivision of the Shenandoah Valley into upper and lower parts has an equally long tradition. The dividing line, implied by most historians if not always stated, is the Fairfax Line as re-drawn in 1753 (Map 2B). It will also be used in this study.[27]

The Fairfax Line was part of the southern boundary of Lord Fairfax's lands in Virginia, generally known as the Northern Neck Proprietorship, and divided them off from the lands of the Crown. This area encompassed all the land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers (Map 2B).[28]

Map 2
AUGUSTA COUNTY

18th CENTURY BOUNDARY CHANGES



The part of this southern boundary which bisected the Shenandoah Valley was also made the boundary between the first two Virginia counties established west of the Blue Ridge. Frederick County lay to the north of the line, and hence within Fairfax's proprietorship, and Augusta County to the south. In terms of land ownership, the upper part of the Shenandoah Valley, Augusta County, was under the control of the Crown rather than an individual proprietor. Although in terms of settlement history and the distribution of population, the Fairfax Line has little geographical significance, it divided the valley into two area which were to develop into rather distinct regional entities during the eighteenth century.

The facts that Winchester, the main service center of the lower valley, was 95 miles nearer to Philadelphia and Baltimore than Staunton was, and that the gaps through the Blue Ridge were more accessible in the north, gave the lower valley clear advantages in marketing its produce and in maintaining contacts with the outside world. Since the lower valley was part of the Northern Neck, which Jackson T. Main has described as "from the beginning a vast speculative enterprise,"[29] it began as a commercially-oriented area both in terms of land speculation and agriculture. Many prominent tidewater and piedmont tobacco growers developed large acreages in Frederick County as a supplement to their commercial activities in eastern Virginia, particularly after 1770. As a result, the Virginia landed aristocracy of English origin had a much more pronounced effect on the economic and social patterns of the lower valley than they ever did on those of the upper valley. Settlers of English origin were more numerous in Frederick County and, hence, the Anglican Church was more firmly established there. Large landed estates,

absentee ownership, tenancy, the use of slaves, and the initial emphasis on the commercial production of tobacco, wheat and hemp were much more characteristic of the lower than of the upper valley.[30]

In short, it is argued that the early land ownership patterns, socio-economic structure, and the evolution of land use in the lower valley had features more in common with eastern Virginia than with the upper Shenandoah Valley. The processes by which these aspects of areal differentiation developed is one of the major themes of this study. Comparisons of the changing geographies of the upper and lower valleys will be made throughout the dissertation.

As a functional region, the upper Shenandoah Valley consists of the counties of Rockingham, Augusta and Rockbridge, which comprise an area of 3,550 square miles.[31] In 1738, when that part of Orange County located west of the Blue Ridge was subdivided into the two new counties of Frederick and Augusta, the latter was by far the larger of the two, stretching "to the utmost limits of Virginia."[32] This included the remainder of the Valley of Virginia south of the Frederick County line to the boundary with North Carolina, part of southwest Pennsylvania, all of the present states of West Virginia and Kentucky, and, by Virginia's claim, the five states of the Old Northwest (Map 2A).

The first major boundary change in Augusta County resulted from the reinterpretation of Lord Fairfax's southern boundary. With the legal acceptance of the more southerly Conway River as the main headwater of the Rappahannock River, instead of the Hedgeman River, the western part of the Northern Neck boundary was finally re-drawn in 1753.[33] This resulted in the loss to Augusta County of one of its better settled areas at that time (Map 2B).

Thereafter, the formation of new counties from Augusta County diminished the size of its area and altered the socio-economic structure of its population. The formation of Botetourt County in 1770 relieved Augusta of a large area between Botetourt boundary line in the Valley and a line running North 59° W. to the Mississippi River (Map 2C).[34] By 1776, the boundaries of Augusta County had shrunk to include only the area of the three counties in the upper Shenandoah Valley, and parts of the present Pendleton, Highland and Bath Counties to the west (Map 2D). Rockingham and Rockbridge Counties were formed out of Augusta County, and part of Rockbridge from Botetourt County, in 1778 (Map 2E).[35] Only in 1791, with the establishment of Bath County, did the boundaries of the three counties virtually take on their present shape (Map 2F).[36] The loss from Rockingham County of some 90 square miles on the south branch of the Shenandoah River to the new county of Page in 1831 left the boundaries as they are at the present day.[37]

The colony of Virginia never developed the variety of local administrative units that characterized New England or the Middle Colonies. There were no "townships" or administrative county subdivisions by which the individual county unit was broken down further for the purposes of local government. The only real alternative to the county in Virginia was the parish, as organized by the Anglican Church. In most cases, parish and county boundaries coincided and this was true of Augusta County and parish.[38] Thus, each individual county in Virginia was the sole source of local administrative records and statistics. While the lack of internal administrative subdivisions in the counties of the Shenandoah Valley provides the scholar of detailed spatial reconstruction with additional difficulties, county records, nevertheless,

remain the primary source material for the study of westward expansion and development.[39] The protection and preservation of county records, as of other historical records, always are subject to such problems as fire, water, vermin, human ignorance, and neglect.[40] This has been particularly true of Rockingham County records, which were partly burned by the invading Northern army during the Civil War. Those records that survived this destruction are locally referred to as the "Burnt Records". Some of the county court records for the mid-1780's are missing, but the greatest loss has been the will books. No eighteenth century will books have survived for Rockingham County. Rockbridge County Courthouse was accidentally burned down in 1796, but the only records that do not seem to have survived completely intact are the surveyors' records.

Augusta County has by far the most complete records. The county courthouse never has been ravaged by a major fire, flood, or armed conflict. An examination of the records available for the entire eighteenth century reveals the influence of the political change from colony to commonwealth on the processes of record keeping. County records before 1775, while less well-organized, are more varied than those after the Revolutionary War. The war itself produced considerable strain on the keeping of local records, and the recording of some aspects of local economic activity, such as the production of hemp and foodstuffs, were shifted from county responsibility to that of the state. County records tend to be least helpful for the period of the war.

The reorganization of local government after 1783, as reflected in the content of county records, eliminated some of the local functions of county officials while insisting that those remaining functions be recorded in more standardized forms. As a result, county order books

and judgments are less revealing about agricultural and merchant activities after 1783. Evidence of these activators of geographic change must be sought in other kinds of public or personal records. Despite these problems, however, county records form the cornerstone of this study and provide an illustration of the utility of available records for the reconstruction of the changing geography of the eighteenth century.

Footnotes:

1. The one thematic exception to this has been the study of the American rectangular land survey system. See especially, William D. Pattison, Beginnings of the American Rectangular Land Survey System, 1784 - 1800, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 50, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957; Norman J. W. Thrower, Original Survey and Subdivision, Association of American Geographers, Monograph Series No. 4, Rand McNally and Co., Chicago, 1966; and Francis J. Marschner, Land-Use and Its Patterns in the United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1959.

2. Frederick J. Turner, "The Old West," chapter three in The Frontier in American History, Holt & Co., New York, 1920, 67 - 125; Louis B. Wright, The Atlantic Frontier, Alfred A. Knopf & Co., New York. 1947, 95 - 96. More recently published accounts have failed to revise the early generalizations. See, for example, Robert E. Riegel, America Moves West, Holt & Co., New York, 1st. edition 1930, revised in 1947 and 1955, 3 - 5; William B. Hesseltine and D. L. Smiley, The South in American History, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 2nd. edition, 1960, 55; Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1965, 229 - 225; David Hawke, The Colonial Experience, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., Indianapolis, 1966, 499 - 501; R. A. Billington, Westward Expansion, The Macmillan Co., New York, 3rd. edition, 1967, 90 - 102.

3. R. A. Billington, "The Origin of the Land Speculator as a Frontier Type," Agricultural History, Vol. 19 (1945), 204 -212, and Paul W. Gates, "Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 66 (1942), 314 - 333.

4. Grant's detailed work at the local level has been the most important historical contribution to the study of the eighteenth-century frontier. See Charles S. Grant, "A History of Kent, 1738 - 1796: Democracy on Connecticut's Frontier," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1957; Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent, Columbia University Press, New York, 1961, and his article, "Land Speculation and the Settlement of Kent, 1738 - 1760," New England Quarterly, Vol. 28 (1955), 51 - 71. See also Edith M. Fox, Land Speculation in the Mohawk Country, Cornell Studies in American History, Literature and Folklore No. 3, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1949; Allen G. Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963; and Robert P. Swierenga, Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1968, and his article "Land Speculator 'Profits' Reconsidered: Central Iowa as a Test Case," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 26 (1966), 1 - 28.

5. Richard Hofstadter, "The Myth of the Happy Yeoman," American Heritage, series 2, Vol. 7, No. 3 (April, 1956), 43 - 53, and Rodney C. Loehr, "Self-Sufficiency on the Farm," Agrigultural History, Vol. 26 (1952), 37 - 41.

6. The most outstanding contributions by historians to the study of land settlement are Ruth L. Higgins, Expansion in New York, with Especial Reference to the Eighteenth Century, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1931, and Robert L. Meriwether, The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729 - 1765, Southern Publishers, Kingsport, Tennessee, 1940. For a general view of economic developments see Eric E. Lampard, "Regional Differentiation in the American Economy before 1870," pp. 109 - 121 in Harvey S. Perloff et al., Regions, Resources and Economic Growth, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1960. Good regional economic studies include Neil Mc Nall, An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, 1790 - 1860, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1952; Solon J. and E. H. Buck, The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1939; Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1952; and William A. Schaper, Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina, Report of the American Historical Association, Washington D.C., 1901, 237 - 463.

7. Andrew H. Clark, "Geographical Change: A Theme for Economic History," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 22 (1960), 611.

8. Carl O. Sauer, "Historical Geography and the Western Frontier," pp. 277 - 289 in James F. Willard and C. B. Goodykoontz (eds.), The Trans-Mississippi West, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, 1930. This article is also reprinted in John Leighly (ed.), Land and Life, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, 45 - 52.

9. Harry Roy Merrens, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1964.

10. Donald W. Meinig, "The Colonial Period, 1609 - 1775," chapter seven, pp. 121 - 138, and "The Geography of Expansion, 1785 - 1855," chapter eight, pp. 140 - 171, in John H. Thompson (ed.), Geography of New York State, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1966.

11. For serious criticisms of the Turner hypothesis from the geographer's point of view, see Carl O. Sauer, ibid.; J.L.M. Culley, "The Turnerian Frontier; A Study in the Migration of Ideas," Tidjdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Vol. 50 (1959), 65 - 72; Marvin W. Mikesell, "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50 (1960), 62 - 74; and Andrew H. Clark, Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760, 381 - 394.

12. Turner, 92 - 102.

13. Avery O. Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606 - 1860, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, No. 1, Urbana, Illinois, 1925, 26.

14. Billington, Westward Expansion, 90 -92.

15. This is most evident in the work of Billington himself. While he does much to update Turner's ideas in his book, America's Frontier Heritage (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1966), his relegation of any notions of development change to the category of "post-frontier" changes, which by definition are not the concern of strictly "frontier historians," diminishes the value of his own frontier approach. For example, on page 160, he writes, "The area lying immediately behind the spatial frontier contributed far more substantially to the growth of the country's economy. There production could be stimulated by technological improvements and expansion of markets, as abundant resources scarcely scratched by the pioneering generation were gradually brought into full use . . . Within this post-frontier zone occurred the full exploitation of national resources that had been discovered on the spatial frontier."

16. His most important studies have been, Western Lands and the American Revolution, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Institute Monograph No. 25, D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., New York 1937; Three Virginia Frontiers, Louisiana State University, The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1940; "The First Transmountain Advance," pp. 120 - 138 in Humanistic Studies in Honor of John Calvin Metcalf, University of Virginia Studies, Vol. 1, Charlottesville, 1941; and "The Southern Frontier, an Interpretation," pp. 129 - 142 in Walker D. Wyman and C. B. Kroeber (eds.), The Frontier in Perspective, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison,

1957. His early work was strengthened by Manning C. Voorhis's study, "The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia, 1607 - 1774," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1940. A previous study of Virginia land policy by Faye Bartlett Reeder, "The Evolution of the Virginia Land Grant System in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1937, was not brought to Abernethy's attention during his studies of frontier developments.

17. Abernethy, "The First Transmountain Advance," 137 - 138.

18. Abernethy, "The Southern Frontier, an Interpretation," 135.

19. Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, 119 - 196.

20. The most detailed criticism of the "superiority" of colonial German farmers is contained in James T. Lemon, "A Rural Geography of Southeastern Pennsylvania during the Eighteenth Century," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1964. See also his article, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," Geographical Review, Vol. 56 (1966), 467 - 496.

21. Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763 - 1789, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1942.

22. Although most observers include Rockbridge County in the Shenandoah Valley, Wayland F. Dunaway excluded it in his study, "Pennsylvania As An Early Distributing Center of Population," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 55 (1931), 138 - 139.

23. On historical regionalization in Virginia see Gary S. Dunbar, "A History of the Regionalization of Virginia," unpublished paper (1959), and an abstract of it in Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 49 (1959), 180; and "The Popular Regions of Virginia," University of Virginia Newsletter, Vol. 38, No. 3 (November, 1961), 9 - 12.

24. John W. Wayland, Twenty-Five Chapters on the Shenandoah Valley, The Shenandoah Publishing Office, Inc., Strasburg, 1957, and William Couper, History of the Shenandoah Valley, Vol. 1, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, 1952.

25. Wayland, 1.

26. Jean Gottman, Virginia at Mid-Century, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1955, 208.

27. A tripartite division of the Shenandoah Valley has occasionally been made on cultural grounds. The English were said to predominate in the Lower Valley, the Germans in the Middle, and the Scotch-Irish in the Upper. See Charles E. Kemper, "The Settlement of the Valley," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 30 (1922), 181 - 182. The distribution of these culture groups will be discussed in Chapter V (see especially Map 12). Within the area of the valley north of the Fairfax Line, "English" social and economic influences were least important in Shenandoah County and any regional generalizations about the lower valley are less applicable to this county. In his study of the lower valley, J. E. Norris omitted Shenandoah County. See History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley Counties of Frederick, Berkeley, Jefferson and Clarke, A. Warner and Company, Chicago, 1890.

28. See also the Jefferson-Fry map of Virginia, 1751 edition, Map Division, Library of Congress, and Fairfax Harrison, "The Northern Neck Maps, 1737 - 1747," William and Mary College Quarterly, 2nd. series, Vol. 4 (1924), 1 - 15. For the origin and development of the boundaries of the Northern Neck Proprietorship see W.W. Hening, The Statutes at Large . . . 1619 - 1792, Franklin Press, Richmond, 1819, Vol. 3, 358; Vol. 4, 514; Vol. 5, 78 - 79; Vol. 6, 198 and 376; also Fairfax versus Hite Controversy, 1735 - 1739, 1771 and 1780 - 1782, in Virginia Miscellany, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; and Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, H. M. Stationery Office, London, Vol. 40 (1733), Feb. 8; Vol. 42 (1735 - 36), Dec. 5; Vol. 43 (1737), Jan. 11, Aug. 11 and 19. Good accounts of the Northern Neck are available in Fairfax Harrison, Virginia Land Grants, The Old Dominion Press, Richmond, 1925, 60 - 134; Couper, Vol. 1, 383 - 429; Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 1, Scribner's, New York, 1948, 1 - 14; Josiah L. Dickinson, The Fairfax Proprietary, Warren Press, Front Royal, Virginia, 1959; and Stuart E. Brown, Jr., Virginia Baron: The Story of Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax, Chesapeake Book Company, Berryville, Virginia, 1965.

29. Jackson T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965, 45.

30. The best account of the social and economic relationships between eastern Virginia and the lower Shenandoah Valley is Willard F. Bliss, "The Tuckahoe in the Valley," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1946. See also his articles, "The Rise of Tenancy in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 58 (1950), 427 - 441, and "The Tuckahoe in New Virginia," ibid., Vol. 59 (1951), 387 - 396. English interest in the lower valley is well documented in Miles S. Malone, "The Distribution of Population on the Virginia Frontier in 1775, Volume 1, The Lower Shenandoah Valley," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1935. The second volume of this study, on the upper Shenandoah Valley, was unfortunately never completed (personal communication with Princeton University Library).

31. The area of the entire Shenandoah Valley, as a political unit, is approximately 6,500 square miles. This is considerably larger than Northern Ireland. The upper Shenandoah Valley is slightly larger than Puerto Rico.

32. Hening, Vol. 5, 78 - 79.

33. Hening, Vol. 6, 376 - 379.

34. Hening, Vol. 8, 395 - 398; Vol. 9, 262 - 266. See also West Virginia, The Historical Records Survey, West Virginia: County Formations and Boundary Changes, The Historical Records Survey, Charleston, West Virginia, 1938, 13 - 14.

35. Hening, Vol. 9, 420 - 424.

36. Hening, Vol. 10, 114 and 351; Vol. 12, 74, and 637 - 638; Vol. 13, 165 - 167.

37. Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1830 - 1831, Richmond, 1832, 140, and letter from W. A. Harris, Luray to J. Brown, Jr., second auditor, Richmond, September 26, 1839, in Bureau of Public Works Papers, Map Collection, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

38. Hening, Vol. 5, 78 - 79, and map opposite page 96 in Charles F. Cooke, Parish Lines, Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, Virginia State Library Publications, No. 14, Richmond, 1960.

39. For comments on the functions of the county court in Virginia and the value of its records, see Isobel Ferguson, "County Court in Virginia, 1700 - 1830," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 8 (1931), 14 - 40; Albert O. Porter, County Government in Virginia, A Legislative History, 1607 - 1904, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 526, New York, 1947; and the general statements in chapter one of Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1959.

    County record books provide a variety of geographical information. For land data the most useful are land patent books, survey records, deed books, and land tax books (after 1781); for population numbers and characteristics, the county order books and tithable records; for social and economic affairs, the order books, personal property books (after 1781), will books, judgments, and the county petitions and claims (after 1775).

40. The varying fortunes of Virginia county records through the years can be traced in Lyon G. Tyler, "Preservation of Virginia History," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 3 (1926), 529 -530, and in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607 - 1907," pp. 127 - 154 in George B. Tindall (ed.), The Pursuit of Southern History, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1964.

The reasons why the Great Valley rather than western Pennsylvania provided the major orientation for interior migration before the Revolutionary War have been explored by most writers on frontier settlement. Geographers formerly tended to emphasize the topographic and drainage obstacles to easy movement in western Pennsylvania provided by the alignment of the ridge and valley areas and the Allegheny Plateau. They have also pointed out the natural accessibility of the Great Valley and the attractions of its potentially good agricultural lands.[10] Frederick Jackson Turner attributed the importance of the Great Valley migration routes to ease of access, cheap lands, and fertile limestone soils.[11] Other historians have emphasized the unpredictable Indian situation in western Pennsylvania, which was so well exploited by the French; the desire by Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia governments to encourage Great Valley settlements as a buffer against possible Indian and French attacks; the problems arising from the drawing of the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary; and, most of all, the cheapness of land in the Great Valley of Maryland and Virginia relative to prices in southeastern Pennsylvania after 1725.[12]

Early Settlement Attempts in the Shenandoah Valley

Although it would be inaccurate to attribute the significance of the Shenandoah Valley to any one major factor, the presence of a large area of flat to rolling, well-watered, fertile land, early proven to be most suitable for agriculture and lacking permanent Indian settlements, could scarcely have failed to impress the earliest white men searching for favorable sites for settlement. The location of the valley between two formidable-looking mountain ranges merely magnified this impact. It is equally important to know the timing of settlement. Once the

initial decisions about settlement had been made, the Shenandoah Valley possessed an early comparative advantage in influencing the direction of later population movements. This was accomplished primarily by the "information feedback", or backflow of information, which was relayed to southeastern Pennsylvania and other major areas of immigration.[13] The flow of information, whether originating from individual settlers or from landowners advertising land, could produce profound effects not only on the number of new settlers attracted to the area, but also on the cultural composition of the settlers and the individual or social manner in which they migrated.

An examination of the earliest attempts at settlement in the Shenandoah Valley provides considerable insight into the rationale, both private and public, behind the migration processes that were to become operative west of the Blue Ridge. The Valley of Virginia was known to fur trappers and Indian traders perhaps by the middle of the seventeenth century. It was viewed or explored in part by John Lederer in 1669 and 1670 (the Shenandoah Valley), by Batts and Fallam in 1671 (the Roanoke area), and probably by Cadwallader Jones in the late 1690's.[14]

The first recorded attempts to settle the Shenandoah Valley occurred soon after these explorations. Louis Michel, with some other Swiss companions who had travelled in Pennsylvania, probably explored the lower Shenandoah Valley around Harper's Ferry in 1704 or 1705.[15] Regarding the Valley as a desirable area in which to establish a Swiss colony, he returned to Berne, and with his associate, George Ritter, sent petitions to Queen Anne requesting land grants in the lower Shenandoah Valley to accommodate 400 to 500 initial settlers. These

settlers were to be Protestant Swiss farmers, traders, and artisans, each of whom would receive 100 acres. The early financing of the project would be undertaken by Her Majesty's government, but once the area was settled by the Swiss, "We hope and expect Minerals Hemp fflax Wine Salt and other Necessarie improvements will soon appear . . ."[16] The British government approved the project in 1709. However, they refused to allow the settlement to become a separate colony and the whole scheme failed to materialize.

In 1709 Christopher de Graffenreid, another Swiss who had been associated with Michel, also obtained an order from Queen Anne's Privy Council authorizing the establishment of a settlement on the Shenandoah River, "as benefit and advantage by strengthening the frontier of Virginia against the French of Canada and Mississippi."[17] On arriving in Virginia, de Graffenreid discovered that his proposed area of settlement was in dispute between Lord Baltimore's agents, and the agent for Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck Proprietary over whether the Shenandoah River was actually the main branch of the Potomac rather than a tributary. In addition, the Virginia government claimed that the Shenandoah River, the Potomac below Harper's Ferry (Shenandoah-Potomac confluence), and the Potomac above that point were three separate rivers.[18] De Graffenreid decided to drop his settlement project for the Shenandoah Valley because of the confusion and opposition, and instead he established an alternative settlement at New Bern in North Carolina in 1709. These earliest, abortive attempts at settling the Shenandoah Valley were, therefore, based on planned group settlement, justified on grounds of defence, religion, and potential commercial contributions, but unable to overcome doubts concerning independent colonies and land

ownership.

A span of twenty years elapsed before any other large-scale colonization schemes were attempted in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1730, Jacob Stauber (Stover), a Swiss farmer who had lived in southeastern Pennsylvania for about twenty years, and an associate, John Ochs, requested permission from the Crown to establish a German-speaking, Swiss Protestant colony "behind the mountains" in Virginia, thus forming a settlement wedge between the French in Canada and in Louisiana.[19] Stauber sought a 10,000-acre grant on the south fork of the Shenandoah River. These requests were formalized in the petition of Stauber, Ochs, Ezekiel Harlan, and Thomas Gould, dated March 30, 1731. The petition reveals that in 1729 Stauber had taken a three-month exploratory trip to the Shenandoah Valley to view the soil and topography. He saw no Indians on his travels. The valley, in his estimation, possessed good pasture land and soils suitable for the production of hemp, flax, and grain. Prospects for making saltpetre and potash seemed good, and the mountain slopes could be used for vineyards; the climate seemed suitable for silk production.[20]

Stauber and his associates planned an ambitious colony of considerable size which, if it had been established, would have radically altered patterns of settlement and economy in western Virginia during the eighteenth century. They requested that a tract of land, between the Blue Ridge and the Mississippi River, but excluding Lord Fairfax's land in the lower Shenandoah Valley, be granted to them and their heirs forever. This new colony was to be called "Georgia".[21]

Sir William Keith, a future governor of Pennsylvania, who was officially requested to give his opinion of the value of the proposed

colony, believed that many advantages would accrue from such a settlement venture. He emphasized primarily the need to settle and control the area before the French were given an opportunity to move in. Increased trade with the Indians should provide additional colonial markets for British goods, especially woollens. Since the project would be largely financed by the settlers themselves once they were established, settlement of the area should be "on much easier Terms than would in all likelyhood be obtained from Persons of overgrown Estates and opulent Fortunes,"[22] However, it was one of those "Persons of overgrown Estates" who objected most strongly to the establishment of the Stauber colony. Lord Fairfax, Proprietor of the Northern Neck, argued against Stauber's proposals on precisely the same grounds as his predecessor had argued against the proposals of Michel and de Graffenreid. The result was the same and the colony was never established.[23]

Stauber (Stover) himself, nevertheless, was granted lands on the south fork of the Shenandoah River. It was in this vicinity that the earliest permanent settlements in the Shenandoah Valley are believed to have been established. In December, 1733, Stover patented two 5,000-acre tracts of land on the south fork of the river.[24] His northern (lower) tract was located on both sides of the river from the mouth of Hawksbill Creek (opposite Thornton's Gap) to Stony Run, just north of the Fairfax Line as it was redrawn in 1753. His southern grant was located on both sides of the river in Rockingham County between Cub Run (opposite Swift Run Gap) and a point almost opposite to Weyer's Cave in the northeastern corner of Augusta County.[25]

Two questions related to Stover's grants require some reexamina-

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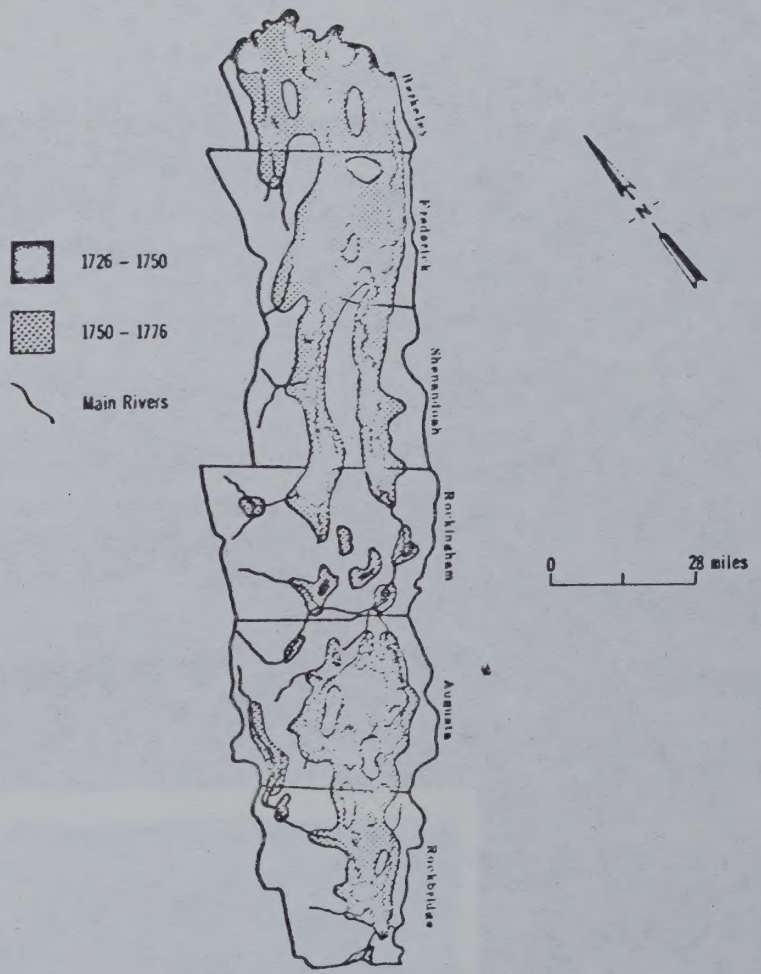
tion at this point. The reason Stover located his grants so far up in the valley has never been satisfactorily explained. Wayland suggested that the grants might have been associated with open, grassy areas which would have been easy to settle.[26] More likely, however, the location of the two grants was influenced by Stover's desire to avoid further disputes with Lord Fairfax. The northern boundary of Stover's lower tract corresponded with the southern boundary of his earlier colony project. In addition, his proximity to Thornton's Gap provided a potential routeway through to eastern Virginia.

A second question concerns the timing of the earliest settlements in the Shenandoah Valley. According to Kemper, there were German and Swiss settlers in the valley by 1726, in the vicinity of Hawksbill Creek.[27] Stover does not seem to have made any mention of them in the report of his travels. On the other hand, Adam Muller and his fellow settlers who seem to have been living on Hawksbill Creek by at least 1729, had been buying land from Stover even before the latter secured a patent for his two tracts. It seems probable, therefore, that the presence of the Muller settlement was also an important factor in the location of Stover's tracts.[28] In 1733, Stover sold his upper tract to a group of "Dutch" (German) settlers from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for over £400. By the end of that year, there were fifty-one settlers on this 5,000-acre tract.[29] The Stover grants thus provided impetus to the settling of the south fork of the Shenandoah River in the upper part of the valley.

Land Grants in the Lower Shenandoah Valley

Further evidence of the influence of the location of large land grants on the distribution of pioneer settlement is provided by the



The Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley, 1726 – 1776.

Map 6.

for 1756 were almost 300 less again, and there was a further decline of 600 by 1758. Secondly, an examination of the tithable districts for the period 1755 through 1759 shows that no attempts were made to check tithables farther west than the Bullpasture River, i.e., within the "protected zone" of the county. The addition of 376 tithables in the 1759 returns strongly suggests that the records for the previous four years were incomplete.

In terms of redistribution of settlement, the areal extent of Augusta County complicates the problem considerably. Even if several hundred settlers had moved eastward from more exposed areas to the vicinity of the upper Shenandoah Valley, they would still have been in Augusta County. Their movement would therefore have made no impression on the total population picture for the county. Moreover, there is no indication of any major influx of refugee settlers into the upper valley. The greatest disruption to the valley's population seems to have been through the demands on its militia, which was mobilized for fighting farther to the west and south.

The effects of the Indian problem on immigration and emigration patterns in the upper valley were more significant. Kemper has stated that the major period of immigration to the upper Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania was between 1738 and 1754. Immigration was then interrupted by the French and Indian War, but was resumed "to some extent" after 1763, and continued until the beginning of the Revolutionary War.[108] This picture is essentially correct. The county order books contain few references to immigration after 1752, and the limited number of migration reports after that year all refer to settlers emigrating. On the other hand, the county deed books show no decline in land

9. H. F. Raup, "The Susquehanna Corridor: A Neglected Trans-Appalachian Route," Geographical Review, Vol. 30 (1940), 439 - 450.

10. Ellen C. Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1903, 59; Harlan H. Barrows, Lectures on the Historical Geography of the United States as Given in 1933, ed. by William A. Koelsch, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 77, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1962, 62 - 63; Friis, 11 - 14; and Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1948, 183 - 186.

11. Turner, The Frontier in American History, 100 - 101.

12. Billington, Westward Expansion, 90 - 92 and chapter 6; Oscar T. Barck and Hugh T. Lefler, Colonial America, MacMillan Company, New York, 2nd. edition, 1968, 268 - 272; Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, 120 - 130; and Ramsey, 15 - 21.

13. For some theoretical background on the relationship between "feedback" and migration patterns see Hagerstrand, 150; and Richard L. Morrill, Migration and the Spread and Growth of Urban Settlement, Lund Studies in Geography, Series B. Human Geography, No. 26 (1965), chapter 5.

14. See John Lederer, The Discoveries of John Lederer, collected and translated by Sir William Talbot, Samuel Heyrick, London, 1672. John W. Wayland, in his book, A History of Rockingham County, Dayton, Virginia, 1912, page 33, suggested that Lederer entered the Shenandoah Valley at or near Waynesboro in 1669, and crossed the valley again in 1670 at or near Front Royal. William P. Cumming, in his carefully edited publication, The Discoveries of John Lederer, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 1958, 75 and 89, has shown that Lederer did not actually enter the valley on either of his expeditions to the Blue Ridge. For additional discussion of Lederer, and for the Batts and Fallam expedition, see Clarence W. Alvord and L. Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1912, 64 - 69, 131 - 171, 70 - 73, and 181 - 205. For a discussion of seventeenth-century explorations of the Shenandoah Valley see Couper, History of the Shenandoah Valley, Vol. I, 51 - 92.

15. Charles E. Kemper, "Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia, 1706 - 1709," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 29 (1921), 1 - 17, 160 - 162.

16. Ibid., 12.

17. Stuart E. Brown, Jr., Virginia Baron: The Story of Thomas 6th. Lord Fairfax, Chesapeake Book Company, Berryville, Virginia, 1965, 41. See also Fairfax Harrison, Virginia Land Grants, A Study in Conveyancing in Relation to Colonial Politics, The Old Dominion Press, Richmond, 1925, 148.

18. Alexander Spotswood, The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710 - 1722, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1882 - 5, Vol. 1, 151 - 153, and Vol. 2, 216.

19. Charles E. Kemper, "Documents Relating to a Proposed Swiss and German Colony in the Western Part of Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 29 (1921), 183 - 190, and 287 - 291; and Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1920 - 1938, Vol. 6, 188 - 189 and 232.

20. Kemper, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 29 (1921), 287.

21. Ibid., 288. The requested land was "to begin at the double Top Mountain [Stony Man and Hawksbill peaks in present-day Page County] by Hawks Bill Creek including the Mountains through which the road is to be made, to go thence Northwards in a line to the Borders of Pensilvania and behind the same, to make the whole breadth 200 miles, thence in a Straight West line to the River Mississippy in length for the North side, and a Straight West Line from the double Top Mountain to the said River for the South Side." See also Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, H. M. Stationery Office, London, Vol. 38 (1731), 77, 212 and 247 - 249.

22. Kemper, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 29 (1921), 188 - 190.

23. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Vol. 7, 189 and 234 ff. Compare the account given in Thomas P. Abernethy, "The First Transmountain Advance," pp. 130 - 136 in Humanistic Studies in Honor of John Calvin Metcalf, University of Virginia Studies, Vol. 1, Charlottesville, published by Columbia University Press, New York, 1941.

24. Patent Book 15 (1733 - 1735), Spotsylvania County, 127. These lands had been granted to Stover by the Governor and Council of Virginia in June, 1730. See Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Vol. 4, 223 - 224. In county records, Stauber's name was usually entered as Stover, and occasionally as Staufer or Strober. See also, Kemper, 183 - 184, and F. B. Kegley, Kegley's Virginia Frontier, The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, Roanoke, Virginia, 1938, 31 - 33. Kegley's book is an invaluable source of materials on the westward movement in Virginia.

25. See map opposite page 120 in Harry M. Strickler, Massanutten, settled by the Pennsylvania Pilgrim 1726, Shenandoah Publishing House, Strasburg, Virginia, 1924.

26. John W. Wayland, A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia, Shenandoah Publishing House, Strasburg, Virginia, 1927, 55.

27. Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722 - 1734," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 13 (1905), 116 - 117. Adam Muller (Miller) is generally regarded by historians as the "first" settler in the Shenandoah Valley, on the basis of his naturalization paper. This paper is reproduced in "First Settler in the Valley," William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, 1st. series, Vol. 9 (1900 - 01), 132 - 133. Muller is supposed to have moved from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley via Swift Run Gap, i.e., from the east, in 1726 or 1727. See the account given in Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1960, Vol. 2, 542 - 544. Kemper has stated that Muller bought 820 acres of land near Elkton in Rockingham County in 1742 and owned a 1,300-acre estate at his death in 1783. See Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 30 (1922), 172 - 173.

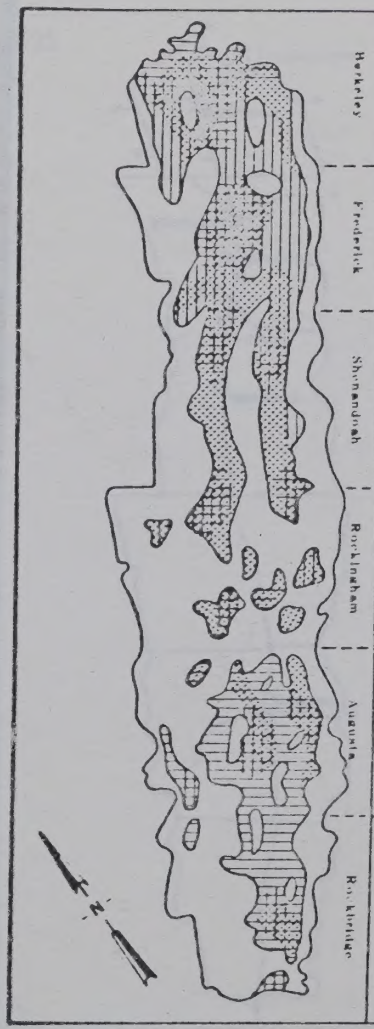
28. See Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, Vol. 4, 223 - 224. Morton, following Abernethy's account, states that Stover found not only the Muller settlement on his travels, but also surveyors marking the boundaries of the 50,000-acre tract within the lower valley to Robert Carter and Mann Page (page 543). John Warner's map in the Map Division, Library of Congress, "The Courses of the Rivers Rappahannock and Patowmack, as surveyed according to Order, in the years 1736 and 1737," shows Page and Carter's 50,000 acres on the west bank of the main branch of the Shenandoah River.

29. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. 1, 219 - 220. These settlers were disputing William Beverley's claim to that part of the "Massanutting" area on which they were living.

30. Executive Journals, Vol. 4, 223.

31. Ibid. These settlement requirements will be discussed more fully in chapter IV.

32. Fairfax vs. Hite, 1735 - 1739, Report to the Lords of the Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council, Virginia Miscellany, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.



	English	Scotch–Irish	German	Other
Berkeley	36%	31%	29%	Dutch
Frederick	40%	25%	30%	Dutch
Shenandoah	28%	4%[1]	60%	Dutch Swiss Swedish
Rockingham	24%	30%	43%	Dutch Swiss
Augusta	20%	58%	19%	Dutch Swiss
Rockbridge	18%	73%	8%	Swiss

Map 12 Distribution of National Groups, 1775.

English

Scotch–Irish

German

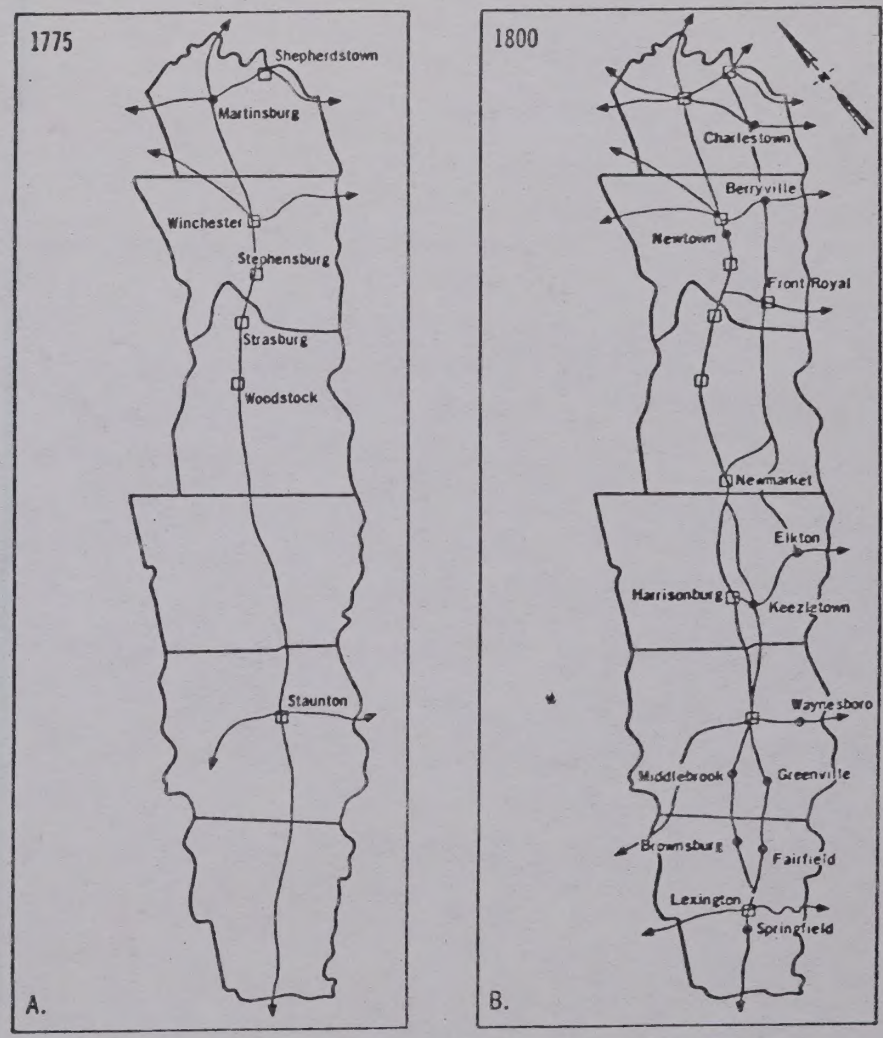
1. This figure should probably be between 5% and 0%, with a proportionate reduction in the % of English.

0 20 MILES

(Sources: County Deed Books and 1782 Tax Returns for Rockingham, Augusta and Rockbridge Counties, and Malone, Ph.D. thesis, maps after pp. 55, 67, 115, and pp. 64, 93 and 123.)

a Moravian missionary travelling through the Shenandoah Valley wrote of the Mennonites who lived in Rockingham County along the south fork of the Shenandoah together with a few Lutherans and members of the German Reformed Church. Moravians were not welcome in this area.[45] By 1750 some Dunkers, among others, had settled as far south as the New River.[46]

Like their Scotch-Irish neighbors, early German settlers often joined the Anglican Church for convenience, and joint Lutheran-Calvinist churches were occasionally established. There were two in Rockingham County by 1750.[47] To add to the difficulty of German identification, Germans, English and, to a lesser extent, Scotch-Irish, began to become members of the independently established Baptist Church in western Virginia. The Linville Creek area of northwestern Rockingham County supported not only a Lutheran community by the mid-1750's, but also a small Baptist following.[48] Harry A. Brunk has pointed out that, particularly after 1775, Baptist reaffiliations were very significant among the Mennonites, the largest sectarian group in the upper Shenandoah Valley.[49] If this was indeed the case, the cohesion of German sectarians in the Shenandoah Valley, despite the fact that the Mennonites were theologically Baptist, may have been weaker than among their counterparts in southeastern Pennsylvania. This possibility has important economic implications. It seems to this writer that, if the widespread belief in German agricultural superiority has any validity during the colonial period, this reputation most typified the sectarian groups within the German community. However, if the social history of the Mennonites in the Shenandoah Valley during the eighteenth century indicates a high degree of cultural depolarization, the "superiority mystique" may be substantiated even less there than it was in southeastern Pennsylvania. This



Map 16. Towns and Villages of the Shenandoah Valley, 1775 and 1800.

□ Town
● Village
Main roads

0 28 miles

(Sources: Hening, Statutes at Large, and county histories)

the farming families themselves. On some occasions, such as the construction of houses and barns, neighborly or group participation was practiced. However, both slavery and white servitude were introduced into the upper valley at an early date. Although William Skillern had no slaves, in his will (appraised between 1744 and 1746) he stated that a Negro boy had to be bought for his family.[93] This provision for one or two slaves to be bought for members of the deceased's family, whether or not they originally owned any slaves, occurred in several eighteenth-century wills. The 1744 will of Joseph Bloodsworth was the first to mention ownership of slaves. He owned a female Negro valued at £30.[94] As previously indicated indentured servants were being brought to the Shenandoah Valley probably as early as the late 1730's.

Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that some of the pioneer inhabitants of the upper valley were indentured servants, while others had completed their indentures in Pennsylvania. It was also determined that there were few Negroes in the region prior to 1760. Indentured servants, on the other hand, were frequently mentioned in the county records during the 1740's and 50's, and even a few convict servants were employed.[95] To judge from the names of these indentured servants and from the information volunteered on some of the more troublesome of them in the Virginia Gazette, the majority were Southern Irish, Scotch-Irish, English, and Scots, with the remainder made up of Welsh and German.[96] Many were skilled workers or learned a trade as part of their indenture; others were employed as field labor or as domestic servants. Unlike slaves, they were in servitude only temporarily, after which they obtained their freedom. This explains why, despite being willed for the remainder of their indenture period, so few are recorded

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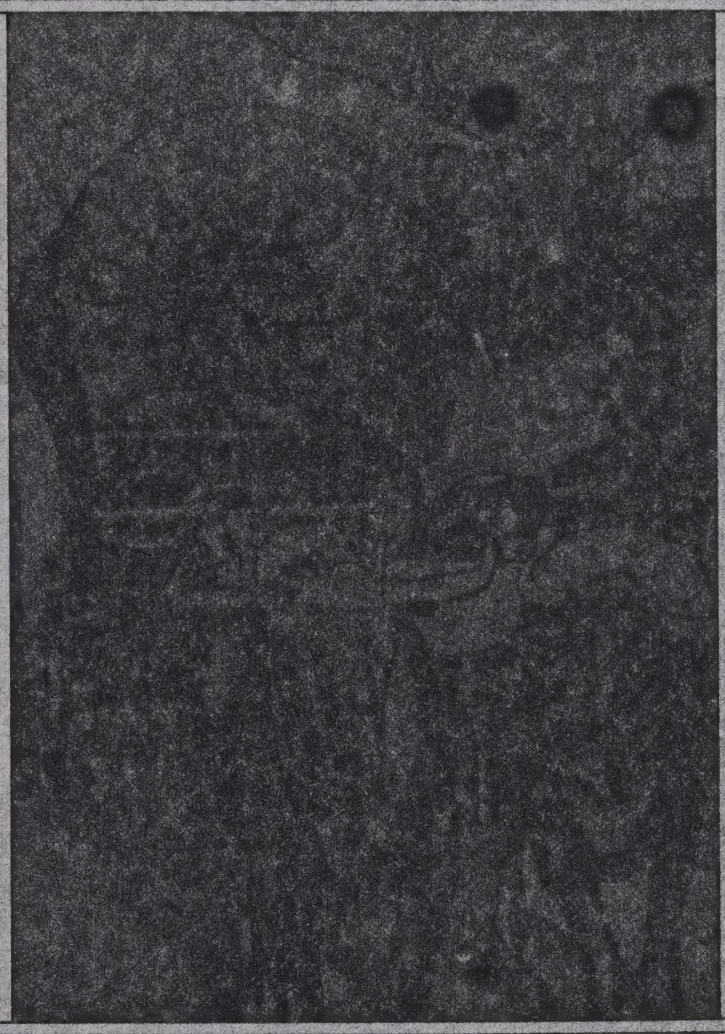
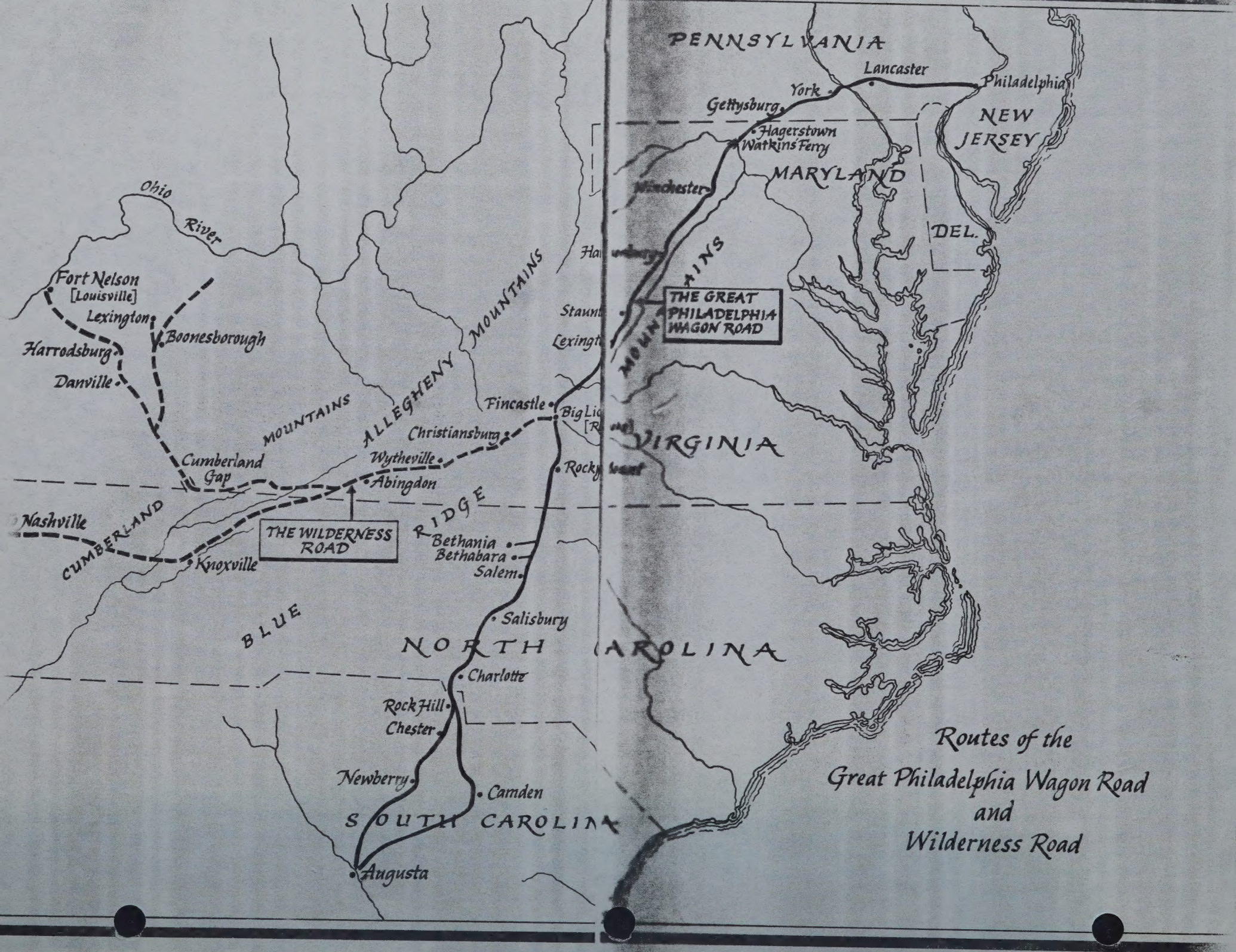
FROM PHILADELPHIA TO THE SOUTH

THE GREAT WAGON ROAD

BY PARKE ROUSE, JR.



THE AMERICAN TRAILS SERIES/Edited by A.B. Guthrie, Jr.



Routes of the
Great Philadelphia Wagon Road
and
Wilderness Road

Germans in Pennsylvania

When Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he caused an outpouring of Protestants from France which was felt in the far-away English colonies of North America for fifty years to come.

Many Alsatians fled across the French borders into the German Palatinate, lying along the Rhine River, and received shelter from the Great Elector, Frederick William. Angered, the Sun King sent General François Michel Louvois with 100,000 soldiers in 1689 to destroy the Palatinate. French soldiers laid waste to farms and destroyed towns and villages. In the War of the Spanish Succession which followed in 1702–1713, many more families living along the Rhine lost lives or property.

Then, in 1708 or 1709, an agent of William Penn visited the Palatines and encouraged them to emigrate, describing the religious freedom offered by William Penn's colony in the New World. By June 1709, the first shiploads of emigrants had succeeded in reaching England, seeking religious freedom. By October 1709, nearly 14,000 had come.

Queen Anne's Protestant government provided food and temporary housing for the homeless Germans. By order of the Queen, 1,000 tents from the Tower of London were erected in an open field. Other emigrants were housed in barns and warehouses.

A Germanic colony had already been established at Germantown, Pennsylvania, under Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683. Now, after 1709, many other Germans and Swiss came. By 1717, so many had arrived that Pennsylvania's Governor, Sir William Keith, recommended that shipmasters bringing in foreign passengers should furnish the colony with their names. Within the next fifty-six years, a total of 68,872 had come in.

But the mass of ill-clothed Germans soon felt the hostility of the English and Welsh Quakers who had earlier sought religious freedom in Penn's Woods. Secretary James Logan on March 25, 1727, wrote William Penn's son in England to complain:

> We have many thousands of foreigners, most Palatines, so-called, already in ye Countrey, of whom near 1500 came in this last sum-

mer; many of them are a surly people, divers Papists amongst them, and ye men generally well arm'd.[1]

About the same time, many former Scottish families who had moved from their homeland earlier to establish the linen trade in Ireland, now found themselves forced from their new homeland by English taxes and also joined in the exodus to Pennsylvania and other colonies. "We have from the North of Ireland great numbers yearly," Secretary Logan wrote John Penn in 1727:

> 8 or 9 Ships this last fall discharged at Newcastle. Both of these sorts [Germans and Scotsmen] sitt frequently down on any spott of vacant Land they can find, without asking questions; the last Palatines say there will be twice the number next year, & ye Irish say ye same of their People.[2]

Even the tolerant Benjamin Franklin was disturbed by the newcomers. "Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlement," he wrote in 1751:

> and, by herding together, establish their language and manners, to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglicifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?[3]

(Franklin later explained rather lamely that by "boor" he meant "farmer.")

Settling at first around Philadelphia, the German and Scotch-Irish slowly spread west and south. Soon many spread westward to the villages of Lancaster, which was laid out in 1721, and Conestoga and York, settled a few years later.

Resentment against the newcomers grew, and they increasingly chose to go southward from Lancaster along the Great Warriors' Path, which led into Maryland and Virginia.

Pennsylvania increasingly discouraged the newcomers and urged them to move southward, beyond their boundaries. The Philadelphian, Casper Wistar, painted this dismal picture to prospective settlers of Pennsylvania in 1732:

> Some years ago this was a very fruitful country, and, like all new countries, but sparsely inhabited. Since the wilderness required

> much labor, and the inhabitants were few, ships that arrived with German emigrants were cordially welcomed. They were immediately discharged, and by their labor very easily earned enough to buy some land. Pennsylvania is but a small part of America, and has been open now for some years, so that not only many thousand Germans, but English and Irish have settled there, and filled all parts of the country; so that all who now seek land must go far into the wilderness, and purchase it at a higher price.... In view of these circumstances, and the tedious, expensive and perilous voyage, you should not advise any one for whom you wish well to come hither. All I can say is that those who think of coming should weigh well what has been above stated, and should count the cost, and, above all, should go to God for counsel and inquire whether it be His will, lest they may undertake that whereof they will afterward repent.[4]

Learning of cheaper lands southward in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, the Germans and Scotch-Irish began venturing down the Great Warriors' Path. Led by a few explorers and land speculators, the Germanic and Scotch-Irish migrations were to continue for nearly a century.

Having seen the rapid growth of Germanic and Scottish settlement in Pennsylvania, Maryland's proprietor, Lord Baltimore, in 1732, sent a proclamation northward to lure others south. His colony, "being Desireous to Increase the Number of Honest people" in Maryland, offered any family 200 acres free between the Potomac and Susquehanna, to be exempt from the payment of quit rents for three years after settlement and then at a rate of only four shillings sterling per hundred acres. Single persons were offered a hundred acres on the same terms.

His Lordship assured settlers that "they shall be as well Secured in their Liberty & property in Maryland as any of his Majesty's Subjects in any part of the British Plantations in America without Exception . . ." Many Germans and Scots were thus lured southward into Maryland, and a strong rivalry developed between the two proprietary colonies.

In 1733, Maryland had a population of only 31,470 males above the age of fifteen, but by 1756 the population had grown to 130,000. About the same time, Virginia began to receive the first of the Germans and Scotch-Irish. Jacob Stover led the first Germanic settlers down the Warriors' Path into Virginia in 1726. Many more came in 1732 when Joist Hite, an Alsatian who had first settled in

Pennsylvania, led a group of Alsatians to settle on 40,000 acres in upland Virginia which the Governor had granted to John and Isaac Van Meter, also of Pennsylvania.

Fear of attack by the Iroquois to the north also forced many Germans south. A number of Germanic settlers in the Colebrook Valley in 1728 petitioned the Governor for better protection against the savages. The accusation was made—to be heard often in colonial times—that English who had settled along the Atlantic coastal plain were using the Germans and Scotch-Irish as buffers against the frontier Indians.

Cheaper lands in Maryland and in the Valley of Virginia increasingly attracted Scots and Germans. In the stony uplands of the Valley of Virginia, land could be had for ten to twenty shillings an acre, so widespread was Virginia's frontier.

Before descending into Anglican Virginia, however, the Scotch-Irish assured themselves that they could worship there as they pleased, free of Church of England control. The Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia wrote Virginia's Governor William Gooch in May 1738 to inquire about the "civil and religious liberties" in the colony. To this, Gooch replied that he had

> always been inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces, to settle on the western side of our great mountains . . . no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession [denomination] who shall come among them, so long as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government . . .[5]

Most of the Germans chose fertile farmlands, clustering close together to help each other with their sowing and reaping, their house-raisings, and their hog-killing. Reared as farmers, they quickly converted their small holdings into verdant fields of grain, tobacco, and truck crops. From the Palatinate, they brought with them a practical knowledge of the use of manure in fertilizing new or worn-out fields. They thriftily used the limestone and fieldstone which they cleared from their acres to build their houses and fences.

One prominent Marylander, Daniel Dulany, wrote Governor Samuel Ogle in 1745 to report the transformation which the Germanic settlers were making in western Maryland. "You would be

surprised to see how much the country is improved beyond the mountains," he wrote, "especially by the Germans, who are the best people that can be to settle a wilderness; and the fertility of the soil makes them ample amends for their industry."

A later governor, Charles Eden, sent a similarly enthusiastic report home to England. "They are generally an industrious laborious people," he wrote Britain's colonial secretary.

> Many of them have acquired a considerable share of property. Their improvement of a Wilderness into well-stocked plantations, the example and beneficent Effects of their extraordinary industry have raised in no small degree a spirit of emulation among the other inhabitants. That they are a most useful people and merit the public regard is acknowledged by all who are acquainted with them.[6]

Some Germanic settlers were skilled craftsmen, settling in Philadelphia, Lancaster, or further south along the Warriors' Path. Some were descendants of skilled French artisans who had emigrated to the Palatinate to escape persecution of Louis XIV. Among them were mechanics, gunsmiths, shoemakers, papermakers, butchers, watchmakers, blacksmiths, and ironworkers. They were soon supplying the neighboring English and Scotch-Irish with articles formerly imported from England and Scotland.

Germanic settlers formed much of the early population of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania and Gettyburg and Hagerstown (originally Hagers Town), which slowly developed farther south on the Warriors' Path. Another German stronghold was Frederick Town, which developed near the Path in central Maryland. Within a few years of the Germanic influx it had become the third largest town in Maryland, next to Baltimore and Annapolis.

> The richness of the soil, and the salubriety of the air, operated [explained William Eddis] very powerfully to promote population; but what chiefly tended to the advancement of settlements in this remote district, was the arrival of many emigrants from the palatinate, and other Germanic states. . . . Provisions are cheap and plentiful, and excellent. In a word, here are to be found all conveniences, and many superfluities.[7]

The early Scots and Germans built rough-hewn log or wooden houses at first, sometimes replaced later by more permanent ones of stone or brick. Where limestone abounded, it was a favored

material. A house-raising was an occasion for fun as well as hard work, the men gathering early in the morning worked day after day until the building had been covered over. Meanwhile, the owner spurred on his neighbors with hearty meals, washed down with ale or stronger spirits.

The kitchen was the most important room, and often it was the largest. At one end a large open fireplace was built up with stone and mortar. German farmers often attached a stable and a cow barn to the house, for farm animals were valued and well cared for. A basement dug from the earth and sometimes entered by a trap door provided food storage and emergency escape in case of Indian attack. Sometimes a dairy house was dug deeply into the earth, to keep milk and butter cool throughout the summer. Hams, shoulders, and bacon cut from hogs killed each winter were cured over a constant hickory-wood fire in a smokehouse, built of stone over a brick and earthen floor.

The earliest frontier settlers traveled on foot or packhorse, for in many places the Warriors' Path was a clearing no more than three or four feet wide in the deep forest. From Europe they brought only a mere handful of possessions, and only the bare essentials of life could be carried on packhorses over this narrow defile. The settler and his wife had to make their own furniture, farm implements, and clothing. Crude iron utensils were traded or purchased from the nearest blacksmith. In broad fireplaces, often with a Dutch oven built into the brick or mortar, the frontier dweller cooked in iron pots and pans, resting on three-legged iron "spiders" or suspended by chains from a beam or iron bar built into the chimney.

The German emigrant built his tables from a split slab of wood, the top surface smoothed with an adz and four rounded legs set in auger holes. For lack of chairs he made three-legged stools or backless benches. Wooden pins driven into the inner walls of the house served as coat racks or shelf supports. Tallow candles or a fat-lamp produced light. Bear grease and hog fat were saved for this purpose, filling the house with the strong odor of burning lard as the light flickered. Platters were often of wood and plates and spoons usually of pewter.

The Germans brought from the Old World skill in making sausage, scrapple, and other smoked or pickled meats. Their pigs ran loose in the woods, eating acorns and roots, and in nine months

were big enough to be slaughtered. Hog-killing day in December's first cold spell brought German neighbors together, working with sharp knives to kill, clean, and butcher their porkers for the winter ahead.

Hams and shoulders were immersed in brine before being hung in the smokehouse. From the hogs' entrails, casings were cleaned for yards of smoked sausage. Other meat was cut up with liver and kidneys and cooked into leberwurst or liver pudding. Water in which meat had been boiled was mixed with cornmeal to make *phannhase* or "pan-rabbit," a mush that was hardened in the pan and then sliced and fried.

Cattle, being slower growing and larger than pigs, were not as popular for meat. Venison, bear, and pork remained the preferred meats. William Byrd II declared "pork and pone"—a type of cornbread—to be the favorite fare of the Virginia and North Carolina frontier.

On Shrove Tuesday, the German housewife cooked *fastnachtskuchen*, made of dough and fried in fat. Germanic families also had such favorites as *sauerkraut und speck, schnitz und knopf*, noodles, dumplings, and other hearty fare.

Clothes were made by the German housewife. Sitting at night over her spinning wheel, she spun wool or flax and then wove it into homespun. A mixture of flax and wool known as linsey-woolsey was popular for clothes because of its warmth. Hunting shirts, worn with breeches, stockings, and moccasins, were usually made of it and fringed with brightly colored cloth of raveled edges.

The crafts of the Germans soon became evident. In Philadelphia and along the route of the Warriors' Path, German artisans began to acquire a good trade. They flourished especially as cabinetmakers, and Philadelphia by the 1740s had become the site of many small furniture makers. Besides using native pine and maple and walnut, they imported mahogany and followed the fashions of Europeans, like Thomas Chippendale and George Hepplewhite.

The Germans were also expert wagon makers, and at Conestoga and elsewhere in Pennsylvania built and sold sturdy vehicles to families migrated from the seacoast to the frontier. The first Germanic wagons were crude affairs, their wheels being disks sawed from buttonwood or gum trees. As ironsmiths and wheelwrights increased, better wagons were built. German tanners were esteemed

for their leather, and many a colonist sported a German-made saddle.

A German tanner named Matthias Nead posted this lament on the wall of his tannery near Clear Spring, Maryland:

> Ye shoemakers, Cobblers, and others attend,
> Just look at this Notice, it is from your friend;
> My Purse is so empty, tis light as a feather,
> You have worn out your Shoes, and not paid for the Leather.
> Now take my Advice and pay off the old score,
> Before you get trusted for any skins more;
> I have Sheep Skins, & Calf Skins, & Upper, and Soal,
> I have all kinds of Leather, from an Ox, to a Foal;
> I have leather that's green, and leather that's dry,
> But pay down the Rhino if any you'd buy;
> A hint to the wise is sufficient tis said,
> Pay! and take a Receipt from your good old Friend
> Nead.[8]

Much as the Germans contributed to the frontier's growth, however, many other settlers continued to resent them. William Penn's sons wrote to Secretary James Logan in Pennsylvania in 1729, recommending that the Pennsylvania Assembly pass a law prohibiting further immigration by the Palatines. They promised to have King George II uphold it. However, the Germanic people had become too enmeshed in the growing fabric of colonial life to be halted. Throughout the 1730s, transplanted Swiss and Germans continued to pour into Philadelphia, spreading thence along the growing Appalachian frontier.

Enter the Scotch-Irish

Close behind the wave of Germanic people which began to sweep over the Warriors' Path came the bold, adventurous Scotch-Irish. From the port of Belfast, in northern Ireland, many a shipload of hopeful Scottish Protestants sailed after 1725 for the Great Opportunity which beckoned from Philadelphia.

Like the Germans who emigrated from the Palatinate, the Scots who poured into America from Ulster were hardy middle-class farmers and craftsmen who suffered in the Old World from their industriousness and their religious beliefs. They came from the poor, rural countries of northern Ireland—Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Firmanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone, where English rule had grown increasingly severe.

The Scottish emigrants were offspring of lowland Presbyterians who had moved out of their ancient homeland after 1607, in response to English inducement to colonize Ireland and grab up cheap farmlands.

For nearly a hundred years before 1700, Scotsmen had emigrated from their country to Ireland, building up profitable linen and woolen manufactures there. Then, in 1698, English wool producers persuaded Parliament to suppress the exportation of Irish woolens. The subservient Irish Parliament agreed, and Scotch-Irish wool growers were forbidden to sell their product to any buyers except the English.

Besides this, Church of England bishops who sat in the Irish Parliament persuaded the government in 1692 to require all Irish officeholders to partake of the Lord's Supper three times a year in the Established Church. Penalties were imposed on any Scottish Presbyterian minister who preached against the rule by bishops.

Outvoted by Irish landholders, who generally upheld the Church of England, the Ulster Scots were persecuted both in politics and business. Not even the tolerant King William and Queen Mary, who had achieved official toleration of England's dissenters on their accession in 1689, were able to moderate the militant zeal of Ireland's Anglican conformists. In countless ways, they made life difficult for the followers of John Knox.

Discouraged by the treatment they received from the English and Irish, the younger sons and daughters of transplanted Ulster Scots began to move in small numbers to America. The exodus began about 1718. Ten years later, a bishop of the Church of England noticed that "above 4200 men, women, and children have been shipped off from hence for the West Indies, within three years." By this time, many of the 200,000 Presbyterians in the Synod of Ulster were on their way to America. So were many of their 130 ministers.

When famine struck Ulster in 1740, the stream of emigrants reached 12,000 yearly. "Thus was Ulster drained of the young, the enterprising, and the most energetic and desirable classes of its population," moaned a Scottish chronicler. "They left the land which had been saved to England by the swords of their fathers, and crossed the sea to escape from the galling tyranny of the bishops whom England had made rulers of that land."

Touring Ireland in these same years, Arthur Young painted a gloomy picture:

> The spirit of emigrating in Ireland appeared to be confined to two circumstances, the Presbyterian religion and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants except among manufacturers of that persuasion. The Catholics never went; they seem not only tied to the country, but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived. As to emigrating in the North, it was in error in England to suppose it a novelty, which arose with the increase in rents. The contrary was the fact; it had subsisted perhaps forty years, insomuch that at the ports of Belfast, Derry, etc. the passage trade, as they called it, had long been a regular branch of commerce, which employed several ships, and consisted in carrying people to America. The increasing population of the country made it an increasing trade; but when the linen trade was low, the passenger trade was always high . . .[1]

Boarding ship at Belfast or Derry, the Ulster families brought with them to America only the few clothes, tools, kitchen implements, and books which they could pack in their wooden sea chests. Huddled below deck in the dark and stinking ship's hold, they endured a rough voyage which lasted eight weeks and often more.

> Last year one of the ships was driven about the ocean for twenty-four weeks [noted a Pennsylvanian in 1732], and of its one hundred

> and fifty passengers, more than one hundred starved to death. To satisfy their hunger, they caught mice, and rats; and a mouse brought half a gulden. When the survivors at last reached land, their sufferings were aggravated by their arrest, and the exaction from them of the entire fare for both living and dead.[2]

Few vessels in these early years were of more than 150 tons, and passenger space was limited. The Ulstermen huddled below deck on straw mattresses or hammocks at night, avoiding the rheumy night air. By day they were permitted abovedeck, crowding the rails to watch the gray seas while the square-rigger beat her way at eight or ten knots across the 3,000 miles of sea which separated Ireland from the American coast.

Many emigrant vessels were stormbound or lost at sea, even though they avoided the tempestuous equinoctial storm months. A Philadelphian in 1732 described this ordeal:

> One of the vessels was seventeen weeks on the way and about sixty of its passengers died at sea. All the survivors are sick and feeble, and what is worst, poor and without means; hence, in a community like this where money is scarce, they are a burden, and every day there are deaths among them . . . When one is without the money, his only resource is to sell himself for a term from three to eight years or more, and to serve as a slave. Nothing but a poor suit of clothes is received when his time has expired. Families endure a great trial when they see the father purchased by one master, the mother by another, and each of the children by another. All this for the money only that they owe the Captain.
>
> And yet they are only too glad, when after waiting long, they at last find some one willing to buy them; for the money of the country is well nigh exhausted. . . . If ready to hazard their lives and to endure patiently all the trials of the voyage, they must further think whether over and above the cost they will have enough to purchase cattle, and to provide for other necessities . . .
>
> Young and able-bodied persons, who can do efficient work, can, nevertheless, always find some one who will purchase them for two, three or four years; but they must be unmarried. For young married persons, particularly when the wife is with child, no one cares to have. Of mechanics there are a considerable number already here; but a good mechanic who can bring with him sufficient capital to avoid beginning with debt, may do well, although of almost all classes and occupations, there are already more than too many . . .[3]

The mad rush of Scotsmen to leave Ulster at length disturbed the Irish landowners, and they introduced a bill in the Irish Parliament in 1735 to restrict emigration. As a result, hundreds of families rushed to board ships the next spring before the threatened cutoff occurred. A thousand migrant families crowded into dockside Belfast early in 1736, pleading for passage to America.

When the landlords learned this, they tried to intimidate shipmasters into canceling their advertised voyages. A Dublin ship captain, John Stewart, wrote a letter of complaint to Thomas Penn, son of Pennsylvania's founder, whom he addressed as "Knight Proprietor of Pensilvania, now in London." Stewart reported on May 3, 1736, that ten ships lay at anchor in Belfast harbor because Irish landlords had issued warrants against any captain who attempted to load and sail.

Stewart appealed to Penn's cupidity with a postscript, pointing out the financial benefit of this emigration to Pennsylvania's proprietors:

> Of those ten Ships there is eight bound for Dalour [Delaware] & verry counciderable with them . . . there will be in a vessall that I bought last year in Margos Hucke [Marcus Hook] near Chister in or about seven hund. pounds Sterl. mostly in Speece [specie], if this [Irish action] does not prevent them from getting over alltogether.[4]

Fortunately, Ireland's courts denied to permit landlords to halt their tenants' emigration, and the Great Exodus continued.

Because of Pennsylvania's reputation for religious toleration, most of the Ulster Scots made their way to ports along the Delaware River. Besides Philadelphia, these were principally Lewes and New-Castle, which stood on the western bank of the Delaware in the southern part of Pennsylvania which later became Delaware. All three towns had Presbyterian congregations, and they received the emigrants with open arms, offering them help and a friendly roof until they could begin their trek westward.

Philadelphia in these years shone as a beacon of hope to many of the 200,000 Scotch-Irish—a third of all the Scotsmen then in Ireland—who came to the American colonies before the American Revolution. Along the wharfs at Market Street docked an endless procession of merchant vessels, bringing settlers from Europe. There the emigrant Benjamin Franklin had arrived from Boston on a

Sunday morning in 1723, while most of the town was at church. There the produce boats brought crates of fruit and vegetables from the Jersey farms across the river, and there the fishermen sold their catch, on a hill between the wharf and the present Water Street.

So many emigrants entered the American colonies at this point that Market Street has been called "the most historic highway in America." From it, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road eventually led southward into the American heartland. By the time of the Scotch-Irish emigration, Philadelphia had become a town of some 20,000 people, the largest in the American colonies. Gabriel Thomas had lauded it in a 1698 account as "This Magnificent City" and noted that:

> It hath in it Three Fairs every Year, and Two Markets every Week. They kill about Twenty Fat Bullocks every Week, in the hottest time in Summer, for their present spending in that City, besides many Sheep, Calves, and Hogs.[5]

Laid out in orderly squares, unlike earlier Jamestown in Virginia or Boston in Massachusetts, Philadelphia was well on its way to becoming the "green country town" to which William Penn had aspired when he designed it. Early frame houses were being replaced by handsomer brick ones, "all Inhabitated," Gabriel Thomas observed, "and most of the Stately . . . after the Mode in London." Not far away to the northeast stood William Penn's ambitious country house, largely abandoned since the great Quaker had returned to England in 1701 and died there in 1718. This "Great and Stately Pile," as Gabriel Thomas termed it, "he [William Penn] call'd Pennsbury-House."

Emigrants coming off their ships at Philadelphia found a cluster of inns and ordinaries near the dockside, ready to refresh any who had money enough to afford it. These rough-hewn structures were proclaimed by colorful hanging-signs: Blue Anchor, Crooked Billet, Pewter Platter, and Penny-Pot. Built a little later and more tidily were Seven Stars, Cross Keys, Hornet and Peacock, and others of brief or longer span.

Once ashore, the Scottish emigrant faced bewildering choices: Whom could he turn to? Where must he settle? Who had the best and cheapest land? For help, they turned to those who had come before. Presbyterian congregations in the favored regions to the west and south were helpful. In the growing Philadelphia hinter-

land, a healthy single man or woman had no trouble finding work with a household or a craftsman. A family that had a little money in the purse would probably do best to buy a packhorse to haul their few household goods and start westward toward cheaper lands.

Typical of the Scots was the family of Andrew Pickens, who came into Philadelphia before 1720 from Ulster. Encouraged by fellow emigrants, they first went westward to Paxton Township, near the later town of Harrisburg. There was born the second Andrew Pickens, one of several members of the family to become famous, who was to command South Carolina forces in the Revolution. Like many emigrants, however, they continued to be attracted by lands to the south, which were farther removed from the ominous threat of the Iroquois tribesmen north of Pennsylvania.

Accordingly, the family pulled up stakes in the 1730s, loaded their horses with the family goods, and started south over the Warriors' Path toward the cheaper lands in Virginia. Crossing the Potomac River by Williams' or Watkins' Ferry, near the later site of Williamsport, they followed the narrow footpath along the Shenandoah River. Past occasional clearings in the forest of the Valley of Virginia, they came after many days' journey to a gap in an earlier trail, named Buffalo Gap. There, seventeen miles southwest of the valley way station which grew into the town of Staunton, the Pickens family cleared land and farmed for nearly twenty years.

When the colony of Virginia introduced government in the Valley in 1745 and created Augusta County, the elder Andrew Pickens became the first justice of the peace. But the lure of the wilderness still called these and other pioneers. About 1750 Andrew Pickens led his family southward again, following the Warriors' Path into the land of the Waxhaw Indians, in western South Carolina. Ten years later they moved to Abbeville, where the younger Andrew grew to fame.

The story of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road is the story of German and Scotch-Irish settlement in America. By 1720, the Scotch-Irish had spread their settlements westward to the mouth of the Susquehanna River. They had formed Presbyterian churches at Octarora, Nottingham, and Head of Elk.

The feisty Scotch-Irish continued to excite Quaker indignation, even though Pennsylvanians recognized them as a comfortable buffer against the western Indians. Secretary James Logan, himself

a Scotsman, fumed in 1724 against these "bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse, when challenged for [land] titles, that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly." He complained that they had settled uninvited on the 15,000-acre Conestoga Manor in an "audacious and disorderly manner," claiming prime farm lands which the Penn family had reserved for themselves. Their defense was that "it was against the law of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread."

For a brief time in 1729, Logan and other anti-Ulsterites believed that the British Parliament would adopt measures to retard Scotch-Irish emigration. He wrote:

> It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day, two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they thus continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the Province. It is strange that they thus crowd where they are not wanted.[6]

Logan, who was himself acquiring a fortune in land in these years, objected to the Scotsmen's forwardness in claiming the best farmlands.

> I must own [he fumed] from my experience in the land-office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before we were broke in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily; but now the case is quite altered.[7]

Pennsylvania's growth drove up land prices and this, too, prompted many newcomers to move south. A Pennsylvania Quaker, Robert Parke, described the boom to his sister in Ireland in 1725:

> Land is of all Prices Even from ten Pounds, to one hundred Pounds a hundred, according to the goodness or else the situation thereof, & Grows dearer every year by Reason of Vast Quantities of People that come here yearly from Several Parts of the world, therefore thee & thy family or any that I wish well I wod desire to make what Speed you can to come here the Sooner the better. We have traveled over a Pretty deal of this country to seek the Land, & [though] we met with many fine Tracts of Land here & there in the country, yet my father being curious & somewhat hard to Please Did not buy any land until the Second day of 10th mo.

This country yieldes Extraordinary Increase of all sorts of Grain Likewise—for nicholas hooper had of 3 Acres of Land & at mos 3 bushels of Seed above 80 bushels Increase so that it is as Plentifull a Country as any Can be if people will be Industrious. Wheat is 4 Shills. a bushel, Rye 2s 9d., oats 2.3 pence, barley 3 Shills., Indian Corn 2 Shills., all Strike measure. Beef is 2½ pence a pound; Sometimes more Sometimes less, mutton 2½, pork 2½ pound. Turnips 12 pence a bushell heap'd measure & so Plenty that an acre Produceth 20 bushells. All sorts of Provisions are Extraordinarily Plenty in Philadelphia market where Country people bring in their commodities. Their markets are on 4th day and 7th day.

This country abounds in fruit, Scarce an house but has an Apple, Peach & cherry orchard. As for chestnuts, Wallnuts, & hazel nuts, Strawberries, Billberys & Mulberrys they grow wild in the woods and fields in Vast Quantities . . .

There is 2 fairs, yearly & 2 markets weekly in Philadelphia also 2 fairs yearly in Chester & Likewise in new castle, but they sell no Cattle nor horses, no living Creatures, but altogether Merchants's Goods, as hatts, Linnen & woolen Cloth, handkerchiefs, knives, Scizars, tapes & treds buckels, Ribonds & all Sorts of necessarys fit for our wooden Country & here all young men and women that want wives or husbands may be Supplyed . . .

Thus the Great Exodus from Ireland and Germany continued through many decades of the eighteenth century. Turning their backs on the ancient tribal and religious hatreds of Europe, thousands crossed the Atlantic in search of the opportunity that the Old World had denied them.

A Moravian Journey to Carolina

The Germans who flooded into Pennsylvania in the 1700s wore the somber clothes of Protestant pilgrims: Amishmen, Mennonites (often called "Mennonists" in early documents), Lutherans, and Anabaptists.

None of these sects played a more active role than the followers of John Hüss, who called themselves the *Fratres Unitas,* but who were known to the world as Moravians. Though the denomination later declined in numbers and in influence, its kindly and hardworking adherents exemplified Christian humility perhaps more than did any other frontier sect. They sought to retain some of the values of monastic life while living in a familial society.

Originating in 1457 near Kunwald, in Bohemia, after Hüss had been martyred for his religious beliefs, the *Fratres* soon broke with the powerful Church of Rome. Hounded out of their homeland, they went into hiding. By 1722, most descendants of these pilgrims had perished, but those who kept the faith gathered on the estate of Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, in Saxony, where they built a town named Herrnhut. There in 1727 they began to spread their peculiar faith by missions to the West Indies, North and South America, Africa, and Asia.

In 1735, the Moravians entered North America through Philadelphia. Within the next five years, they had industriously planted small colonies at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, Pennsylvania. From these settlements, they sent out missionaries to the Indians.

In November 1743, two Moravians began a journey down the Great Warriors' Path which brought them five months later to Georgia. They were Leonhard Schnell, a German, and Robert Hussey, an English convert. Schnell's diary gives a faithful picture of the difficulties of traversing the Path.

Leaving Bethlehem on November 6, they journeyed together to Philadelphia "in love and in the strength of the lamb." Two days after leaving Philadelphia they arrived at Lancaster, sixty-six miles away, and two days thereafter reached York, "where all the inhab-

itants are High Germans." At York an innkeeper asked Schnell to preach a sermon, which he soon did to an assemblage of villagers, rounded up by the innkeeper. Schnell preached on the text "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost," and was urged to come again often.

Leaving York, the two pilgrims crossed the Conewago River in Adams County, Pennsylvania, and then descended into Maryland and forded in succession three shallow rivers. Schnell had to carry his companion across the third, the Monocacy, because the two men had walked forty miles since sunup and were very tired. In the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, they found many Lutherans and Reformed members, who insisted on a sermon. "I felt very happy among them," Schnell wrote. "They are very plain people."

Between Frederick and the Potomac River, the travelers encountered only two houses. In this twenty-mile stretch they could get nothing to eat because the householders themselves had no bread. After crossing the river near the later Harper's Ferry, Schnell and Hussey spent the night in an English tavern, where the local people complained about their minister. "On account of his disorderly life, he had no influence among the people," Schnell reported. "At this place I handed to the landlady the Swedish catechism, which Bro. Bryzelius of Philadelphia gave me for his countrymen, who live three miles from here."

In upland Virginia, near the village of Winchester, the two men came to the inn of Joist Hite, a pioneer Germanic settler who encouraged countless others to come south from Philadelphia into upper Virginia. "He was very courteous when he heard that I was a minister," Schnell wrote.

> I asked him for the way to Carolina. He told me of one, which runs for 150 miles through Irish settlements, the district being known as the Irish tract. [An area of the Valley of Virginia which later became Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, and Botetourt counties.] I had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way, I felt somewhat depressed. I asked the Lord to show me the right way, but slept little that night.[1]

Arising next day, Schnell learned from a settler of another route which would avoid the dreaded Scotch-Irish settlements. "His name is Stephan Schmidt, a Catholic, but anxious to hear the word of the

cross," Schnell recorded. "Many spiritually hungry people, of German nationality, live there, who have no minister."

Reaching the Shenandoah River, Schnell and Hussey found the ferryman unwilling to take them across until he learned that they had the fare. Reluctant to venture further because the next house was twenty-four miles away, they spent the night with an English family, who gave them shelter, after much urging.

> At first they said they could neither give us a meal nor a bed [but] we might sleep at the fire. But after a while they changed their minds and gave us something to eat and a good bed. We paid, and left the following day.[2]

The Moravian minister used an Indian hatchet to clear the pathway, which was often overgrown. Once he felled a tree across Goose Creek to serve as a footbridge.

While detouring around the Scotch-Irish, Schnell and Hussey encountered a German family near Warrenton, Virginia. One man told him that on his voyage to America, 150 passengers were drowned. "This gave me an opportunity to remind them how necessary it is to be ready at all times to leave this world," Pastor Schnell noted. "They at once took me to be a minister, and, as a result, showed us much love. They asked us to stay with them and preach for them on Sunday, as they had a church, but had not heard a sermon for six months . . ."

So moved were Schnell's listeners that they invited him to remain as their pastor, but he declined. They told him of the settlement of Moravian missionaries in Georgia in 1735, later abandoned when the group came up the Warriors' Path and joined another Moravian colony at Zinzendorf, in Pennsylvania. Without betraying his knowledge, Schnell asked what they had thought of the Reverend August Gottlieb Spangenberg, their pastor. One listener admired him because he had not tried to proselyte other believers. "He preached the word pure and undefiled to all who wanted to hear," he said of the Moravian.

In the November rains, the two Moravians started southward again. They found creeks swollen with muddy rainwater. When they reached the Rappahannock, they crossed in a canoe and stopped at an inn kept by a German emigrant named Christopher Kuefer. For several days they plodded through Virginia's highlands in the rain. Near Orange County Courthouse they were stopped by

an English settler who demanded to see their passport. When Schnell demurred, several farmers conducted him with rifles to a justice of the peace of Orange County. But the German produced his passport there, and he and Hussey were permitted to proceed.

On December 2, the two pilgrims reached the Roanoke River, on the boundary between Virginia and Carolina. Here they found the rich farmlands which Colonel William Byrd II had purchased twenty years earlier and promoted to European emigrants as his New-found Eden. Schnell may have seen a copy of Byrd's *Neu-Gefundnes Eden in Virginia,* which had been printed (by Wilhelm Vogel, or William Byrd), in Switzerland in 1738 to induce Swiss and German immigrants to come south into Virginia and North Carolina.

In Craven County, North Carolina, the two Moravians met Jacob Schuetz, an elder of the German Reformed settlers living near the Trent River. "He and the people living in that district were very glad to see a German preacher and were eager to hear a sermon, as they had not heard a German sermon for several years," Schnell recorded. On December 8, "all the Germans assembled, about forty of them. The Saviour gave me grace to speak to their hearts and blessed my words visibly . . ." After the next day's sermon, one German, Abraham Bossert,

> made a great feast to all the persons present, at which many blessed discourses were held. . . . They also related to me that three days ago two men from Philadelphia had . . . told them that there was again a new religion in Pennsylvania, in which the people were given a certain potion to drink, after which they would adhere to them [the denominationalists]. Not long ago a ship-load of people from Switzerland had arrived, who had been rich and respectable people, but as soon as they had taken this potion, they had gone over with all their possessions to the new religion.[3]

Packing food given them by Bossert, Schnell and Hussey set out again on their long walk. At night they heard the howls of wolves and other wild animals.

Winter had now fallen, and in mid-December a white pall enveloped the uplands. "During the night and the whole of the next day, so much snow fell that none in Carolina could remember the like," Schnell noted. "It compelled us to remain in doors all day."

Abandoning the back country, the Moravians turned eastward and at last reached Charles Town, South Carolina, on Christmas eve. Their host, a Huguenot named Brunet, told them of the "pitiable

circumstances" of the Germanic ministers and people there and of evil reports which had been circulated of Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians. Schnell attributed this to a book by the Presbyterian minister, Gilbert Tennent, who had preached three sermons in New York the year before on "The Necessity of Holding Fast the Truth . . . Relating to Errors lately vented by some Moravians in those parts."

Schnell was also distressed to learn that some German settlers in South Carolina had been turned against the Moravians by a letter which the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, an early Lutheran in Pennsylvania, had written to South Carolina. Schnell was indignant. "In it many lies were told about our Brethren and many wicked things were falsely reported about them," he wrote. "This has stirred up the people against us."

At the village of Purysburg on the bank of the Savannah River, twenty miles from Savannah, Pastor Schnell on January 21 called on a German Reformed minister, the Reverend Henry Chiffelle, who had also been ordained by the Church of England to minister to the English colonies. Chiffelle greeted Schnell and showed him his garden and plantation, but he balked at letting Schnell preach in his church. "He said, personally he had no objection," Schnell wrote, "but explicit orders had been received from Charlestown according to which none should have permission to preach, except he had been ordained or licensed by the Bishop of London."

Chiffelle also expressed his opposition to Moravian doctrine, which accepted the Scriptures as a literal rule of faith and behavior. The Moravians' concept of themselves as a "congregation of saints," emphasizing conduct rather than doctrine as the road to salvation, was unacceptable to him as an Anglican. Chiffelle also told Schnell he had not been able to convert many German emigrants "because their hearts were very hard," but he wished Schnell more success with them.

Having concluded their missionary tour, extending more than 500 miles from Pennsylvania to Savannah, the two Moravians prepared to return to their mission. On January 15, they bade farewell to their South Carolina friends and boarded the sloop *John Penrose,* docked in Savannah's harbor. Soon they were at sea, bound for Pennsylvania by way of New York. They arrived at Bethlehem at last on April 10, 1744.

The Moravian mission was typical of many which that sect un-

dertook during the years of the German settlements of the eighteenth century. Soon they would plant new settlements at Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem in North Carolina, traveling regularly from Pennsylvania to the southern colonies and back again.

To them and to other newcomers from the Old World, the Warriors' Path became a familiar and well-worn path. Of them and other unsung early pioneers, William Rose Benét wrote an appropriate epitaph:

> Little of brilliance did they write or say.
> They bore the battle of living and were gay.
> Little of wealth or fame they left behind.
> They were merely honorable, brave, and kind.[4]

Along the Way South

When Alexander Spotswood led his Knights to the Virginia mountaintop in 1716 and foresaw the resistance which France would pose to the colonies' westward growth, he proved himself a farsighted statesman. Though Louis XIV had lost the Hudson Bay region to England, the French still held strong outposts beyond the Appalachians.

By 1744, the two great nations were at war again. France had erected fortresses along the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. Increasingly, her trappers ventured eastward to trade with the Ohio Valley Indians. Along the eastern uplands, frontier settlers heard again the dreadful war cries of the Iroquois and the southern chieftains.

The Five Nations blamed the Catawbas. After the Treaty of Albany had been signed by the Five Nations with New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia in 1722, they said they had asked the southern tribesmen to confirm it.

"The Catawbas refused to come," the Iroquois complained to the English signatories, "and sent us word that we were but women. That they were men, and double men, for they had two penises. That they would make women of us and would always be at war with us," Chief Gachradadow of the Cayugas told the Virginians. "They are a deceitful people. Our Brother Assaragoa is deceived by them."[1]

The Iroquois knew the meaning of the Catawbas' weird boast, for Indian warriors often kept a group of submissive males to perform domestic chores while the warriors fought and hunted. These pitiful male concubines, whom Europeans described as "transvestites," were forced by the tribesmen into sodomistic acts. Such was the fate with which the Catawbas had threatened the Iroquois.

As war again threatened between France and England, the governors of the middle colonies saw need again to meet with the warring tribesmen and brighten the chain of friendship. This was a part of the struggle between the two powers for Indian allies, finally to be fought out in the French and Indian Wars. After long

Presbyterians in a New Land

Although the Germanic settlers were divided into many sects—Moravians, Mennonites, Lutherans, Amish—the Scotch-Irish who spread along the Great Warriors' Path to the south were nearly all Presbyterians. In a few years William Penn's City of Brotherly Love, which was at first strongly Quaker, became the stronghold of these staunch followers of John Knox in the New World.

Unlike Church of England ministers sent to Virginia and Maryland by the Bishop of London and supported by taxes on their parishioners, the Presbyterian ministers came on their own. In 1718, a minister in northern Ireland exclaimed in alarm that "no less than six ministers have demitted their congregations, and great numbers of their people go with them; so that we are daily alarmed with both ministers and people going off." But this was merely the beginning.

Beset by conflict with both Anglicans and Catholics in Ireland, the Presbyterians chose Pennsylvania as more hospitable to their views than New England, where Congregationalists dominated, or Virginia and Maryland, where the Church of England was established by law. Penn's early insistence on freedom of conscience and his opposition to "looseness, irreligion, and atheism" appealed to the Scots. They found comfort in Pennsylvania's assurance of toleration to all who acknowledged "One almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World."

Such worshippers were promised that they would never be disadvantaged by their "conscientious Perswasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry . . ." Being dissenters against Anglicanism themselves, Quakers favored religious toleration, and word of this had spread to northern Ireland.

Wherever they went, the Scotch-Irish displayed a confidence which carried them far. "Teach me, O Lord, to think well of myself," they prayed, unabashedly.

Philadelphia's first Presbyterian congregation had been formed in 1695 jointly with the Baptists in the waterfront storehouse of the

Barbados Company. Soon others sprang up as new shiploads of Ulstermen surged down the gangway into the growing town. Before 1720, Presbyterians had formed three new congregations westward to the mouth of the Susquehanna, while the next decade saw eighteen more congregations added in Pennsylvania.

As early as 1707, a presbytery or council of elders was formed by ministers of seven pioneer Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania and New England. Ten years later the Covenanters had increased sufficiently to form the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia—the first in America—to direct the growth of new congregations and enlist ministers.

In May 1720, the Presbytery of New Castle reported that the "number of people lately come from Ireland" had grown to such an extent that settlers along the branches of the Elk River had sent commissioners to ask for ministers, with the "design of having the Gospel settled among them." One Presbyterian cleric, the Reverend George Gillespie, reported in 1723 from the head of Christianna Creek, near the later Delaware border:

> As to the affairs of Christ in our parts of the world: There are a great many congregations erected and now erecting; for within the space of five years by gone, near to two hundred Families have come into our parts from Ireland, and more are following: They are generally Presbyterians.[1]

Although many Presbyterian ministers came into Pennsylvania with the Scotch-Irish, they could not keep pace with the denomination's growth. The Reverend Jedidiah Andrews, minister of the Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, called attention to this problem in 1730.

> Such a multitude of people coming in from Ireland of late years [he wrote] our Congregations are multiplied, in this Province, to the number of 15 or 16, which are all but 2 or 3 furnished with ministers. All Scotch and Irish but 3 or 4. Besides divers new Congregations yet are forming by these new comers, we call ourselves Presbyterians, none pretending to be called Congregational, in this Province.[2]

The beliefs of Scottish Presbyterians and New England Congregationalists were similar, but the two groups followed separate courses. The Congregationalist minister Jonathan Edwards frequently preached to Presbyterians, but he declined to serve as a missionary to Scotch-Irish on Virginia's frontier.

To the handful of hard-working Presbyterian ministers in Pennsylvania, it soon became clear that more clergy were needed. The growing colonists could hardly expect the Scottish universities at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Glasgow to supply these, as they had done in the old country. The first man to try to supply this need was the Reverend William Tennent, pastor at Neshaminy in Bucks County, near the Warriors' Path. In 1726, he began to teach his son William and other youths the Greek and Latin they would need to attend college and prepare for the ministry.

At Tennent's "log college," at Neshaminy, young Scotch-Irish lads lived and worked in the Tennents' household while meeting the arduous intellectual discipline of the Church of Scotland. Soon the Reverend John Blair started another log college at Fagg's Manor, in Chester County. Inspired by the parish schools which John Knox had instituted in early Scotland, the log colleges in the next twenty years led to the creation of the first full-fledged Presbyterian college and theological seminary in the colonies. This institution, the College of New Jersey, eventually became Princeton University. They also led other clergymen to open similar schools along the trail of Scotch-Irish immigration in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and thence westward through the Appalachians.

Wherever the Scotch-Irish settled, wrote an admirer of those hardy souls,

> they started schools. As the parsons were their best-educated men, they taught the youth as a part of their ministry. In time the schools they started in their congregations grew to be common schools for all. Later some of them became academies, and a few became colleges. In this way these Presbyterians did more to start schools in the South and West than any other people.[3]

The crusading spirit of the Presbyterians was strengthened in 1739 when the Reverend George Whitefield reached Philadelphia from England and aroused great fervor in a series of revival sermons. The minister was only twenty-five, but his golden eloquence and his vivid word-pictures of the hell which awaited sinners stirred Pennsylvania, young and old. Although he was an Anglican, he was at this period an adherent of Charles and John Wesley's Methodists,

whose popular evangelism, tinged with Calvinism, influenced many other sects.

The normally skeptical Benjamin Franklin was one of the many who heard the Wesleyan and was transported with religious fervor. "It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants," he glowed after hearing the youthful fire-eater. In his autobiography, Franklin described his unsuccessful effort to persuade Whitefield to establish his orphanage in Philadelphia instead of Georgia, and Franklin's resultant decision not to contribute. However, he wrote:

> I happened soon after to attend one of his Sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my Pocket a handful of Copper Money, three or four silver Dollars, and five Pistoles of Gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the Coppers. Another Stroke of his Oratory made me asham'd of that, and determin'd me to give the Silver; and he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my Pocket wholly into the Collector's Dish, Gold and all . . .[4]

Although still a nominal adherent of the staid Church of England, Whitefield's eloquent evangelism greatly influenced William Tennent and many other Pennsylvania Presbyterians. Transplanting the emotionalism of Europe's "Great Awakening" to the middle colonies, the young Wesleyan stimulated the growth of evangelical "New Side" ministers like Tennent and his log-college graduates. Many of these went forth to the frontier and planted new churches.

From their hub in Philadelphia, young Scotch-Irish ministers carried the Presbyterian gospel down the Warriors' Path and elsewhere along the frontier. Probably the first Presbyterian church in the Valley of Virginia was organized at Opequon near Winchester in 1737. In the churchyard is a fieldstone slab with its crude, homemade letters still readable:

JOHN WILSON
INTERED HERE
THE BODYS OF
HIS 2 CHILDER &
WIFE YE MOTHER
MARY MARCUS

WHO DYED AGST
THE 4TH 1742
AIGED 22 YEARS.

In 1740, the Donegal Presbytery directed the Reverend John Craig, who had recently arrived from Ireland, to accept a call to the Presbyterians in the Valley of Virginia. Traveling southward along the path to Augusta County, he established the second church in the Valley at Fort Defiance, eight miles north of the county seat at Staunton. A year later he planted another church at Tinkling Spring, near the future Lexington.

After a preaching trip southward to new settlers along the New and Holston rivers, in southwestern Virginia, Parson Craig brought home to Augusta a long list of church elders he had ordained. For some of them, known as "great sinners," he apologized. "When I cudna get hewn stones," he explained, "I tuk durnaks [brickbats]."

No pioneer Presbyterian, however, equaled the effect of young Samuel Davies, who went south from Pennsylvania in 1748 to preach to frontiersmen in five upland Virginia counties east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Although only twenty-five at the time, the godly and soul-searching minister—a graduate of John Blair's log college—was soon the most famous preacher in Virginia. He was the leader in the Great Awakening in that Anglican colony and began to stir a demand for greater religious freedom. Rough frontiersmen who grew grain and tobacco in the piedmont uplands gathered by the hundreds wherever Davies came to preach. Anglicans as well as Presbyterians subscribed money to construct seven plain wooden meeting houses which extended his circuit from Hanover to Henrico, Louisa, Goochland, and Caroline counties.

Why did Davies and other Presbyterians exert such strong appeal? Why did so many Americans—especially on the frontier—flock to the Presbyterian meeting in preference to the established Anglican churches? The answer was that the Scottish clerics were freer to follow the pioneers than were the settled Anglican clergy of the coastal plain. Furthermore, Presbyterianism was more democratic and direct than some other faiths: the Scotsman was by nature practical, pragmatic, and impatient of distinctions. All of this appealed to the frontiersman. They were qualities that became part of the American spirit.

The Scottish clergy also appealed to Americans for their Whiggish

independence and their skepticism toward British rule. Having chafed under British imperialism in their native Scotland or northern Ireland, they were accustomed to speak out. Many urged disestablishment of the Church of England in the colonies. The Reverend John Witherspoon, who guided American Presbyterianism as president of The College of New Jersey from 1768 to 1794, effectively spoke for separation of Church and state. In essence, Presbyterian preachers on the frontier seemed the most *American* of the religionists until the Baptists and Methodists hit their stride a little later.

Church of England ministers in Virginia eyed Davies' ministry coldly. By attracting so many members of the Established Church in the colony, he was diverting support from settled parish ministers. Furthermore, many dignified Anglicans felt that Davies and other New Side Presbyterians were

> preaching the terrors of the law in such a manner and dialect as had no precedent in the Word of God . . . and so industriously working on the passions and affections of weak minds as to cause them to cry out in a hideous manner, and fall down in convulsion-like fits, to the marring of the profiting both of themselves and others . . . that they cannot attend to or hear what the preacher says . . .[5]

Replying to their "Old Side" or traditionalist Presbyterian critics, the New Siders castigated them as "Dark Lanthorns." Surviving texts of Davies' sermons reveal him to have been an eloquent and sound preacher, who avoided the "hellfire and damnation" of many New Siders. Even so, he was suspect as an itinerant evangelist.

One critic of Davies was Peyton Randolph, the learned and distinguished attorney general of Virginia. He advocated that the colony limit the revival meetings which Davies could hold. It would weaken the Established Church, he protested, if New Side evangelists "are permitted to range and raise contributions over the whole country, when our [Established Church] clergy are confined to a single parish." However, the colony continued to permit Davies to preach at will.

Governor William Gooch, himself partly Scottish and originally sympathetic to the dissenters in Virginia, branded the New Siders as "False teachers . . . professing themselves ministers under the pretended influence of new light, extraordinary impulse, and such like fanatical and enthusiastical knowledge . . ." His objection also

applied to "New Light" Baptists and "enthusiastick" Wesleyans.

In 1747, the Virginia Council ruled that dissenting ministers in the colony must be "settled" and minister to established congregations. It disapproved of circuit riding as destructive of the Anglican concept of orderly parish ministries. It declared:

> It is with Hearts full of the most unfeigned Concern that we observe a Spirit of Enthusiasm introduced among the People by Itinerant Preachers; a Spirit, more dangerous to the common Welfare than the furious Element which laid the Royal Edifice [the Virginia Capitol at Williamsburg, which had just burned] in Ashes; a Spirit, productive not only of Confusion, but of Blasphemy, Profaneness, and the most wicked & destructive Doctrine and Practices . . .[6]

But such Anglican objections merely strengthened Davies' popularity. A boy named Patrick Henry, brought up in the Church of England, heard Samuel Davies in Hanover County, Virginia, and remembered him as the greatest orator he had ever listened to. Reports of such disaffection began to reach the ears of English statesmen with disturbing frequency. In a few years, the writer Horace Walpole would tell a worried British public: "There is no use crying about it. Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson, and that is the end of it."

Another Presbyterian pioneer was the Reverend Hugh McAden, who became one of the first "settled" (as opposed to itinerant) ministers in North Carolina. Graduating from the College of New Jersey in 1753, he was licensed to preach two years later and ordained. In 1759, he accepted a call from Hanover Presbytery, which Samuel Davies had helped establish, serving from Virginia southward to Georgia.

McAden recorded his first preaching mission down the Wagon Road in his journal. Traveling on horseback, he stopped overnight with Presbyterian ministers and laymen "on both sides," referring to the Old Sides and New Sides who divided that denomination. Once he noted: "Alone in the wilderness. Sometimes a house in ten miles, and sometimes not that." Near Augusta Courthouse, later named Staunton, he "stayed for dinner" at Mr. Poage's, "the first I had eaten since I left Pennsylvania."

At the invitation of the Reverend John Brown, he preached at the Timber Ridge Church in the Valley of Virginia. "Felt some life and

earnestness in alarming the people of their dangers on account of sin, the procuring cause of all evils that befall us in this life, or in that to come," wrote the Calvinist.

While staying with the family of Joseph Lapsley in Augusta County, McAden's host received the shocking news of General Braddock's tragic defeat in Pennsylvania. "This, together with the frequent account of fresh murders being daily committed upon the frontiers," he wrote, "struck terror in every heart.... In short, the whole inhabitants were put into an universal confusion. Scarcely any man durst sleep in his own house—but all met in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications to defend themselves . . ."

Some frontiersmen urged McAden to return to the safety of Pennsylvania, but he continued southward. Several weeks later he preached at a Presbyterian meeting house on the Yadkin River in North Carolina. "Many adhere to the Baptists that were before wavering," he wrote. "O may the good Lord . . . visit this people!" Passing through the lands of the Catawba Indians, the minister was surrounded and his baggage rifled, but he was unharmed. As a consequence of his trip, McAden became the "settled minister" of two congregations at Duplin and New Hanover, North Carolina, in 1759, and died in 1781 in North Carolina.

Bitterness between Old Side and New Side Presbyterians in Pennsylvania reached such intensity that they split into two groups from 1741 to 1758. During this period, the liberal Presbyterians of New York and of New Brunswick broke away from the more conservative Old Side Presbyterians of the Synod of Philadelphia.

It was during this period that the Synod of New York created a new institution to replace Tennent's log college, principally to train clergymen and schoolmasters. Opening its doors first in 1747 at Elizabeth, New Jersey, it moved five years later to nearby Princeton and became the College of New Jersey. This stronghold of Presbyterian thought soon took over and broadened the log colleges' mission of supplying religious and intellectual leaders to the Scottish immigrants who were infiltrating the Appalachian region. In 1896 it became Princeton University.

As the Scotch-Irish spread, other ministers opened schools like those which Knox had created in Scotland. The first to be established in the Valley of Virginia was taught in 1749 or earlier by the

Reverend John Brown, who had come south on the Warriors' Path and begun his ministry at Timber Ridge, near Staunton. When the Hanover Presbytery twenty-two years later resolved to create a "Seminary of Learning," it decided to take under its patronage the struggling Augusta Academy, then located in Virginia's "Irish tract" at Mount Pleasant. In 1776, the Hanover Presbytery, which served Virginia and much of North Carolina, assumed control of the academy and moved its location to Timber Ridge, on the Wagon Road. It installed as rector the Reverend William Graham, who had graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1773 as a classmate of Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee. (Lee later persuaded George Washington to endow the Presbyterian academy with $50,000 of canal stock, and his son, Robert E. Lee, was still later the president of the school.)

Like the pioneer log college at Neshaminy, the academy of Timber Ridge was a rough-hewn institution of high idealism but spartan severity. The building was only twenty-eight by twenty-four feet in size, but its course of study was such as to satisfy the rigorous requisites of Presbyterian education. About 1780 the academy, now named Liberty Hall, was moved to a hill near Lexington.

Describing the first academy, a later head of the school wrote:

> The schoolhouse was a log cabin. A fine forest of oaks, which had given Timber Ridge its name, cast a shade over it in the summer and afforded convenient fuel in winter. A spring of pure water gushed from the rocks near the house. From amidst the trees the student had a fine view of the country below, and of the neighboring Blue Ridge. In short, all the features of the place made it a fit habitation of the woodland muse, and the hill deserved its name of Mount Pleasant.
>
> Hither about thirty youth of the mountains repaired, "to taste of the Pierian spring," thirty-five years after the first settlement of Burden's Grant. Of reading, writing, and ciphering the boys of the country had before acquired such knowledge as primary schools could afford; but with a few late exceptions, Latin, Greek, algebra, geometry, and such like scholastic mysteries, were things of which they knew perhaps to lie covered up in the learned heads of their pastors—but of the nature and uses of which they had no conception whatever . . .
>
> It was a log hut of one apartment. The students carried their dinner with them from their boarding-houses in the neighborhood.

They conned their lessons either in the school-room, where the recitations were heard, or under the shades of the forest, where breezes whispered and birds sang without disturbing their studies.

A horn—perhaps a real cow's horn—summoned the school from play, and the scattered classes to recitation. Instead of broadcloth coats, the students generally wore a far more graceful garment, the hunting-shirt, homespun, homewoven, and homemade, by the industrious wives and daughters of the land. Their amusements were not the less remote from the modern tastes of students; cards, backgammon, flutes, fiddles, and even marbles were scarcely known among these homebred mountain boys. Firing pistols and ranging the fields with shot-guns to kill little birds for sport they would have considered a waste of time and ammunition.

As to frequenting tippling-shops of any denomination, this was impossible, because no such catchpenny lures for students existed in the country, or would have been tolerated. Had any huckster of liquors, knicknacks, and explosive crackers hung out his sign in those days, the old puritan morality of the land was yet vigorous enough to abate the nuisance.

The sports of the students were mostly gymnastic, both manly and healthful, such as leaping, running, wrestling, pitching quoits, and playing ball. In this rustic seminary a considerable number of young men began their education, who afterwards bore a distinguished part in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country.[7]

The Scottish schoolmaster was a revered and familiar figure in America and in Great Britain throughout these years. Known as "dominie" (from the Latin *dominus*), he did not hesitate to inflict bodily punishment on miscreant students. Such a schoolmaster was the Reverend Samuel Doak, a graduate of Augusta Academy who founded two schools in the territory of Tennessee. This stern old classicist transported his library by packhorse and at commencement presided in the classic garb of the colonial clergyman: powdered wig, long black coat, short breeches with white stockings, and broad-toed shoes with shining buckles.

As they spread southward, Scotch-Irish ministers planted other schools. From such beginnings in Virginia grew Hampden-Sydney and Mary Baldwin colleges. Further south, in North Carolina, Davidson was begun in 1836. In Georgia, Franklin College, begun about 1800, grew into the University of Georgia. Similarly, in the Appalachian territories which they settled after the Revolution,

the Scotch-Irish launched Transylvania and Centre colleges in Kentucky and the predecessors of the University of Tennessee, and George Peabody College for Teachers in Tennessee.

Like their parishioners, migrant Scotch-Irish ministers lived with hardship and sudden death. In his journal, the Reverend John Cuthbertson, who came to Pennsylvania in 1751 as the first American missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, described grueling travels on horseback in his thirty-nine-year ministry amounting to 60,000 miles. He preached on 2,400 days, and baptized 1,800 children.

Cuthbertson's energies knew no bounds.

> After being forty-six days at sea from Derry Loch [his journal begins], landed safely at New Castle, Delaware, August 5th, 1751. . . . In good health, *laus Deus* [praise God]. Then . . . at four, afternoon, took horse and rode twenty miles to Moses Andrews.[8]

Shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania, Cuthbertson rode down the Appalachian corridor as far south as Opequon and Winchester in Virginia, preaching and baptizing as he went. Such mission journeys were frequent on the Wagon Road.

Another Presbyterian missionary who traversed the Road was the Reverend Philip Vickers Fithian, who in his journal described a mission tour from Philadelphia to York, Hagerstown, Martinsburg, Winchester, and other Valley of Virginia settlements in May and June 1775.

On a preaching trip in 1775, the Reverend David McClure reported an instance of the riotous living which the puritanical Presbyterians sometimes observed along the frontier. He noted disapprovingly:

> Attended a marriage, where the guests were all Virginians. It was a scene of wild and confused merriment. The log house, which was large, was filled. They were dancing to the music of a fiddle . . . The manners of the people of Virginia who have removed into these parts are different from those of the Presbyterians and Germans. They are much addicted to drinking parties, gambling, horse racing, and fighting. They are hospitable and prodigal. Several of them have run through their property in the old settlements and have sought an asylum in the wilderness.[7]

Despite their lonely isolation along the frontier, the Scotch-Irishmen played a steadily larger part in colonial affairs. Critical of English policy before they had left Ireland, most of them were natural adherents to the Revolutionary cause. Thus when Patrick Henry—himself partly Scottish—thundered against the Stamp Act in 1765, his words found response on the Appalachian "Irish tract" and beyond.

Truly, as the English writer Horace Walpole saw, Cousin America in the years before the Revolution was running off with a Presbyterian parson.

Mapping the Great Mountains

As colonists moved westward to the foothills and highlands of the Appalachians, surveyors were repeatedly called on to extend the boundaries which separated the colonies. Border disputes between adjoining settlers absorbed much of the attention of governors and assemblies in these years of frantic growth.

In Virginia, the far-spread upland claims of Lord Fairfax complicated the colony's westward growth. Based on early grants by Stuart kings to lords Culpeper and Arlington, they were resented by Virginians as an unwarranted exercise of royal favor. Inherited by the Fairfaxes, the claims embraced a vast tract from Tidewater westward to the mountains. It was an empire in itself.

Part of the problem was that no one knew the upland headwaters of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, whose "first heads or springs" were designated by King James II in 1685 as the westward boundaries of the Fairfax tract. Governor Gooch of Virginia in 1729 protested the claim, and the House of Burgesses asked King George II to reconsider it, but King George II refused.

Disturbed by protests, Lord Fairfax himself arrived in Virginia in 1735 with an order from the King to have the western bounds of the Fairfax lands surveyed. When the Governor and Fairfax disagreed on survey methods, each sent his own survey party out. On the strength of the surveys, the court in 1745 confirmed Fairfax's claim to 6,000,000 acres, making up most of northern and western Virginia. Nineteen counties of Virginia and five in West Virginia were carved from this kingly domain.

The settlement enabled Virginia at last to extend its government to the disputed area, which embraced several hundred miles of the Great Warriors' Path. The colony at first divided the region into two vast counties, which it designated as Frederick and Augusta—Frederick in honor of the eldest son of King George II and Augusta for Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, Frederick's wife. Their county seats were the tavern-stop towns of Frederick Town (later Winchester) and Staunton, which were among the uplands' earliest settlements.

greatest naval power in the world. The decisive triumph of British redcoats and American frontiersmen over the forces of King Louis XV turned the eyes of many colonists toward the Appalachians and beyond.

The rumble of wagon wheels along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road mounted in the 1750s and '60s. An irrepressible confidence in America's destiny drove men forward, creating ever new frontiers.

Bethabara and New Salem

Having planted themselves early in Pennsylvania and Georgia, the devout Moravians in 1750 looked for other places where they might spread their austere gospel. After much searching and prayer they chose western North Carolina, where they bought 98,985 acres from Lord Granville.

Thus began the great undertaking which they named *Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement.*

Bishop August Spangenberg, known as Brother Joseph, led a small group from Pennsylvania over part of the Wagon Road in 1752 to choose the site for the first buildings. After passing south of Augusta Courthouse (later Staunton), Virginia, on October 24, he observed that "there the bad road began. It was up hill and down, and we had constantly to push the wagon, or hold it back by ropes that we fastened to the rear."

On reaching the Catawba River, the bishop wrote: "Hitherto we have been on the Trading Path, where we could find at least one house a day where food could be bought; but from here were to turn into the pathless forest."

At Quaker Meadows on November 24, he observed:

> The land is very rich, and has been much frequented by buffalo, whose tracks are everywhere, and can often be followed with profit. Frequently, however, a man cannot travel them, for they go through thick and thin, through morass and deep water, and up and down banks so steep that a man could fall down but neither ride nor walk.... The wolves here give us music every morning, from six corners at once, such music as I have never heard. They are not like the wolves of Germany, Poland, and Livonia, but are afraid of men, and do not usually approach near them. A couple of Brethren skilled in hunting would be of benefit not only here but at our other tracts, partly to kill the wolves and panthers, partly to supply the Brethren with game. Not only can the skins of wolves and panthers be sold, but the government pays a bounty of ten shillings for each one killed.[1]

Once they reached the Catawba River, near the lands of the Catawba Indians, Spangenberg and his followers were invited to

stay at the house of Andrew Lambert, a Scotsman. Here they gave final approval for the purchase of Lord Granville's land.

"Our land lies in a region much frequented by the Catawbas and Cherokees, especially for hunting," Spangenberg wrote.

> The Indians in North Carolina behave quite differently from those in Pennsylvania. There no one fears an Indian, unless he is drunk. Here the whites must needs fear them. If they come to a house and find the men away, they are insolent, and the settler's wife must do whatever they bid. Sometimes they come in such large companies that a man who meets them is in great danger. Now and then a man can do as Andrew Lambert did: a company of Senecas came on his land, injured his corn, killed his cattle, etc. Lambert called in his bear hounds, of which he had eight or nine, and with his dogs and his loaded gun drove the Indians from his place.[2]

The Moravians named their tract Wachau for the ancestral estate of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, reviver of the Moravian faith in Austria. Later it was changed to the more musical Wachovia, a term which was to embrace the original village of Bethabara and the larger towns of Salem and Bethania.

When word of the land acquisition reached Bethlehem, prayers and song rang through the Congregation of Saints there. Leaders of Moravian colonies from Lititz, Nazareth, and Bethlehem gathered at the Single Brothers' Farm at Christiansbrunn and carefully chose the pioneers to go south in advance of the main group.

Two ministers were chosen to lead it: Bernard Adam Grube, who would direct spiritual life, and Jacob Loesch, who would manage business affairs. Thirteen others were selected, four of them to return to Pennsylvania after a few months to guide others to the new mission field.

Hitching the horses to their homemade wagon, the fifteen men left Bethlehem on October 8, 1753, and were soon headed south on the Wagon Road. Crossing Watkins' Ferry over the Potomac, they admired the reddening of the great maples along the Valley hillsides. By mid-November they had entered North Carolina and reached the initial Moravian settlement site, which they named Bethabara, or House of Passage.

In ten days they cleared three acres of densely forested land and cultivated it with a plow built by Brother Henrich Feldhausen.

Within five months they were growing wheat, corn, potatoes, flax, cotton, tobacco, barley, rye, oats, millet, buckwheat, turnips, and pumpkins. In a fenced garden, to keep out rabbits and squirrels, they cultivated "salat" greens.

Winter was confining, but in spring the Brothers visited neighbors to buy apple and peach trees, livestock, and poultry. They branded their cows with an M on one flank and a mark on the left ear. They hollowed tree trunks into barrels. Except for a few items—glass, nails, salt, and coffee among them—they supplied their own wants.

To Carolina frontiersmen the newcomers were an enigma, but they found them helpful. A Scotsman came to have a tooth pulled. Others asked them to make leather breeches or shoes. Others wanted nails from the smith, brandy from the distiller, or cooking ware from the potter.

Brother Hans Peterson was named *fremden diener*, or foreign worker, to receive visitors. Brother Adam Grube looked to the day when they could offer more hospitality. "It is very inconvenient for us to entertain strangers," he explained, "for our space is small and we have nothing for them to sleep on. Nearly every day we have some extra people to feed."

Soon the Moravians opened a store and brought a gunsmith and other craftsmen from Pennsylvania. When a neighbor, Abraham Wilson, cut his foot, Brother Kalberlahn doctored him for a fee of two cows. Two other visitors felled 100 trees and rived 3,000 shingles in exchange for two pairs of shoes. Soon settlers were coming sixty miles to trade.

Within a few months the Brothers built the log-cabin guesthouse which Brother Grube had advocated. Even so, visitors often outnumbered beds, impelling the Moravian hosts to sit up all night to accommodate them.

When the first spring came, the Brethren laid out their garden, orchard, and cow pasture.

> The usual and best food of the Brethren [one of them wrote] has been milk and mush and whatever can be made from cornmeal. The garden did well, and from May 8 to July 5 we had salat every day for midday dinner and often at evening meal. When salat came to an end we had cucumbers for three weeks, with three or four meals of sugar peas, beans several times, occasionally cabbage, and squash twice. Meat has been scarce, and we have had only four

deer and two small bears—the bears generally are smaller than in Pennsylvania. Hunting has not proved profitable, and we give little time to it.[3]

The diary of John Jacob Friis, who came from Bethlehem as Bethabara's pastor in 1754, reflects the industry of the Moravians. One day he noted that he had hunted strayed pigs for a whole afternoon. On another he carved intricate claw feet for a table, meanwhile musing, "One day I am a joiner and the next day a carver; what could I not learn if I was not too old?" With rueful humor he proclaimed himself "your first cowherd in North Carolina."

In one two-week span Pastor Friis harvested flax, served as community cook, picked blackberries for vinegar, tended the chickens, cleaned the dormitory and yard, and cured tobacco.

Soon Bethabara was complete, and plans were considered for a larger village. Its principal buildings were a *gemeindehaus,* or meeting house, a two-story Single Brothers' House, blacksmith shop, cooperage, grain mill, brick kiln, toolmaking house, pottery, tannery, washhouse, and tailor shop. The Brethren had also cleared roads to the Yadkin River and the Wagon Road and surrounded their whole town with a wooden palisade against the Indians.

Laying the cornerstone for the Single Brothers' House, the Moravians offered up this hymn:

> The Corner-stone of a new house we're laying,
> And for Thy presence, Lord, we're humbly praying;
> May Thy dear blood, for our salvation given,
> Our work and rest, our thoughts and actions, leaven.
>
> O Jesus, grant our prayer: may every Brother
> Here live in joy and peace, one with the other,
> And Thou with us; and every day and hour
> Show us Thy wounds, and their redemptive power.[4]

The second village was named Bethania and placed three miles from Bethabara in Black Walnut Bottom. Eight Moravian couples from Pennsylvania and eight other couples who wished to adopt the Moravian way of life set to work building it in 1759. Fear of Indian attack had forced the sect to abandon its plan for a scattered farming community, like those in Pennsylvania.

Constantly guiding the destiny of the Wachovia settlements was

Bishop Spangenberg, an able and godly man who was second-in-command to Count Zinzendorf among the Moravians. Born in Germany in 1704 and trained for the Lutheran ministry, he had deserted that sect at twenty-nine in objection to its formalized doctrine. Though highly educated, he patiently accepted the hardships of travel between Moravian settlements from Pennsylvania to Georgia.

John Wesley, one of the founders of Methodism, became acquainted with Spangenberg as a fellow missionary in Georgia. He was amazed and impressed that a bishop who preached the gospel one day would demean himself as the village cook the next.

Bishop Spangenberg was constantly dismayed by the godlessness of frontiersmen. "There are many cases of murder, theft, and the like, but no one is punished," he complained. "Land matters in North Carolina are in unbelievable confusion. A man settles on a piece of land, does a good deal of work on it—from the Carolina standpoint—and then another comes and drives him out."

He also disapproved of North Carolina's laws. "No Christian brought into this land can be a bond servant," he wrote. "Yet a man who helps another's slave to escape must serve the slave's owner for five years."

Like William Byrd II, who had found Carolinians shiftless and ignorant, Spangenberg painted a dark picture of the colony:

> The inhabitants of North Carolina are of two kinds. Some have been born in the country, and they bear the climate well but are lazy, and do not compare with our northern colonists. Others have moved here from the northern colonies or from England, Scotland, or Ireland, etc. Many of the first comers were brought by poverty, for they were too poor to buy land in Pennsylvania or Jersey, and yet wished to have land of their own; from these the Colony receives no harm. Others, however, were refugees from debt, or had deserted wives and children, or had fled to escape punishment for evil deeds, and thought that here no one would find them, and they could go on in impunity. Whole bands of horse thieves have moved here, and constantly show their skill in this neighborhood; this has given North Carolina a very bad name in the adjoining Provinces . . .[5]

Like Bethabara before it, Bethania prospered from the hard work of its settlers. Five years after it was started, word came from Count

Zinzendorf that the time had come to build the principal town, which he directed be called Salem.

The Brethren in North Carolina were not convinced that this was a wise move and appealed to the Governing Board in Saxony. That body accordingly "referred it to the Lord" through the lot. Back came word from Saxony: "We are to tell our Brethren in America that the Savior wills that Salem shall be the town of our Brethren in Wachovia for trade and the professions and they shall be moved thither from Bethabara."

Salem's location was chosen by lot, and in May 1765 the site was surveyed. Money was raised by selling some of Wachovia's acres, and the Moravians agreed that the new town would be given 3,159 acres rent-free for five years.

Artisans to build Salem were brought down the Wagon Road from Pennsylvania. By 1766 they had raised the population of Bethabara to 130 and of Bethania to 87.

As Salem took shape in brick, clapboard, and shingles, its congregation began to move in. The first building, a *gemeindehaus* or meeting house, was consecrated in 1771. Others followed rapidly: a Single Brothers' House, Single Sisters' House, store, tavern, pottery, homes for the blacksmith and gunsmith, an apothecary, mill, sawmill, and a farm with a barn for ten cows. As the town took shape, more Moravians came by wagon from Pennsylvania to take their places in the new mission.

Just as the Pennsylvanians had done, the people of North Carolina found the Congregation of Saints a remarkable group. In the tough and amoral environment of the frontier, they miraculously preserved some of the Christian virtues of medieval monasticism: altruism, self-denial, meditation, industry, frugality, and selfless submission to discipline.

Shunning the moral relativism of politics, they refused to take an oath or to bear arms. "It does not accord with our character as Brethren," they told the Carolinians, "to mix in such political affairs. We are children of peace and wish peace of all men. Whatever God lays upon us, that we will bear." When passage of the Stamp Act incensed the Carolinas, a Wachovian exclaimed: "We sigh and pray: 'From tumult and uproar, deliver us, oh God!' "

In lieu of the Catholics' mass and the Anglicans' eucharist, the Moravians periodically observed a "love feast." Here the congrega-

tion sat down to share their bounteous food and drink as primitive Christians did. Observing their simple brotherhood, the poet Goethe concluded that "the Moravian doctrine has something magical in that it appeared to continue . . . the conditions of those first times."

The most glorious event of Moravian life was their observance of Easter. Before sunup the congregation gathered in God's Acre, where the bodies of their dead lay buried in choirs—men in one section and women in another, each marked by a simple stone to signalize the democracy of death. At the sight of the sun's first rays, the cry, "The Lord has risen indeed!" provoked a glorious choral outburst, accompanied by the majestic chords of the massed bands.

Originated at Herrnhut, Austria, in 1732, the sunrise service brought the worshippers of Salem in a body to their *hutberg*, or watch hill. Each Moravian congregation had such a hill, celebrated by Count von Zinzendorf in one of his many hymns:

> If in this Darksome wild I stray,
> Be Thou my light, be Thou my way;
> No foes, no evils need I fear,
> No harm while Thou, my God, art near.
>
> Savior, where'er Thy steps I see,
> Dauntless, untired, I follow Thee:
> O let Thy hand support me still
> And lead me to Thy holy hill![6]

Brother Grube and other musicians at Salem continued to add to the treasury of great Moravian hymns—many of which were later adopted by countless other churches. Describing his arrival at Salem, Brother Seidel told of the zeal with which he sang the stanza which Grube had written to honor the newcomers:

> We hold arrival love feast here,
> In Carolina land;
> A company of Brethren true,
> A little pilgrim band,
> Called by the Lord to be of those
> Who through the whole world go,
> To tell of Jesus everywhere,
> And naught but Jesus know.[7]

Outside, wolves howled in the night and owls screeched a counterpoint to the music.

The constant journeys of Moravians back and forth from Pennsylvania to North Carolina were typified by the experience of Anne Catherine Antes, who wrote on arriving in Salem:

> In the latter part of April, 1759, we set out for North Carolina, accompanied by the other five Brethren from Bethabara and their wives. It was not a long journey, only one month, for our big wagon was drawn by six horses, and we had others for riding; so we made good time. It was a pleasant experience; the country was new to me, and the budding trees and balmy air made us forget the bad stretches of road. Even the night camps had their charm, though we began to hear of renewed Indian activity. Cherokees, who had accompanied General Forbes in the campaign against Fort Duquesne, were returning home along the mountains and were involving themselves in quarrels with the back settlers of Virginia and Carolina. We were taking the lower road by Frederick, Maryland, and Orange Court-house, Virginia; so we were not in great danger and saw no red men.[8]

Incited by the French, the Carolina Indians made widespread attacks against the Carolina frontier in 1760. It was the worst danger the Moravians had known in America. In February of that year, several settlers were killed by Cherokees near the Yadkin. Nine days later, frightened refugees rushed into the safety of Salem, aghast at the Indian atrocities. But Wachovia escaped Indian attack.

Singing and praying together, the Moravians made light of their labor.

> As intimate converse turned washday into almost a pleasure [wrote Anna Catherine Antes], so did the pulling and retting of the flax have its happy side as we worked together in the fields, singing sometimes, and thinking of the shirts and towels and other things which our flax would make when it had been broken and swingled and hackled and spun and woven. The Brethren did the heavy work of breaking and hackling, and some of the weaving, but the rest of it fell to us.[9]

Many visitors came to Salem's church, and Moravian ministers went out to preach to frontiersmen. One wrote in 1766: "The Baptists are the only [other] ones who go far and wide preaching and caring for souls." Brother Utley was the itinerant minister, preaching in English and German.

As at Bethabara and Bethania, the Moravians made Salem into a

prosperous settlement. By 1772 it housed 120 persons. Around this central market town clustered the two earlier villages plus the later Friedland and Friedberg. Far-seeing Bishop Spangenberg saw Salem as the principal trading center of its region, sparing North Carolinians the trouble of sending their produce north to Virginia:

> A good deal of tobacco is raised, but it is generally taken to Suffolk or Norfolk [he wrote]. Thus it is shipped by the Virginia merchant, and the Carolinians must accept whatever prices he chooses to pay. Many cattle also are sold outside of North Carolina, but the profit is in Virginia, not here. They are not killed, salted and exported from this province but are driven to Virginia and sold on the hoof, at a loss rather than a profit.[10]

In all their deliberations, the Moravians sought direct guidance from God. In this effort they depended on the lot, which earlier Brethren had used in the fifteenth century to select bishops. Seeking a decision on a congregational matter, they would submit their question in prayers "Dear Savior, I have nothing. I make no choice. Show me Thy will and I will be obedient thereto."

Three choices, on identical ballots, would answer yea, nay, and in blank, which meant that the question was unanswerable. Once drawn, the lot's answer was accepted.

Not all Moravians could constantly adhere to the abstinence and celibacy which their faith required. In 1762, Brother Feldhausen, the Salem distiller, was expelled when he "yielded to carnal desires and fell into all kinds of sin and shame." Young members who became engaged to outsiders without permission of village elders were dismissed. It was a faith which demanded one's whole soul.

Despite their puritanism, the Moravians had no scruples against temperate use of alcoholic beverages. In their Salem taverns they sold brandy, whiskey, and other spirits. Tavern fights were not unknown, but they were usually provoked by Scotch-Irish customers.

To protect themselves against Indian attack, North Carolina's Moravians eventually had to overcome their lifelong scruples and begin carrying guns. Brother Jacob Loesch trained a militia unit to protect the Wachovia settlement when the watchman sounded his trumpet or rang the village bell. When peace came, however, the Brethren put away their guns and sent missionaries to the Cherokees. Many Indians were thus converted to Christianity.

Over the years, the Moravians contributed greatly to the peace and upbuilding of the frontier which lay along the Great Road. As Bishop Spangenberg believed, the settlement at Salem grew, ultimately becoming part of the city of Winston-Salem. But in the aggressive capitalism of frontier America, the monastic idealism of his faith found fewer converts with each generation.

Even so, the gentle spirit of the *Fratres Unitas* was perpetuated in song and legend. The village of Salem remained a monument to a remarkable people. And in the great Easter litany and in countless soaring hymns, Zinzendorf and his followers left an undying legacy:

Jesus, lead the way
Through our life's long day
And with faithful footsteps steady,
We will follow, ever ready.
Guide us by Thy hand
To the Fatherland

Order Thou our ways,
Savior, all our days.
If Thou lead us through rough places
Grant us Thy sustaining graces
When our course is o'er
Open heaven's door.
Amen[11]

The Threat from the French

Once the English colonies in 1744 took over the Great Warriors' Path, the stage was set for a new westward surge of settlement. In this effort, which set off the French and Indian Wars in 1754, the north-south Appalachian road became a strategic link binding the six southern colonies, from Pennsylvania southward to Georgia.

The murderous conflict between Great Britain and France for control of eastern North America was to end in a great victory for the British, but it was won only at great loss of life to frontier settlers. It also thrust the British government deeply in debt, leading to King George III's efforts to tax the thirteen colonies which brought on the Revolution. For the frontier dwellers, however, the French and Indian Wars brought immediate gains: a sense of colonial unity, new lands to the south and beyond the Appalachians, and less danger from the Indians.

The Virginians' incessant westward drive brought on the war. Emboldened by a 1609 grant from King James I to the Virginia Company of territory "from sea to sea," the tobacco barons of Tidewater believed with Alexander Spotswood that Virginia should possess the lands west and north of the Appalachians. Land—the symbol of wealth and family position to the English country-dwellers who were the ancestors and models of Virginia's tobacco planters—became their consuming passion.

The coming of the French into the Ohio Valley pricked Virginia's pride. Sir Walter Raleigh had dreamed of "a new English nation" in North America. Virginia's Governor and Council agreed the French must be combatted. In this heroic and lengthy struggle, the Wagon Road became a vital colonial supply line.

To seize the Ohio Country, the wealthy Thomas Lee and other Virginia investors formed the Ohio Company and in 1749 obtained from England a grant of 500,000 acres on the Ohio River, which they planned to populate. Learning this, the Marquis Duquesne, Governor-General of New France (Canada), sent a party of soldiers and Indians southward to resist Virginia's encroachment and hold the Ohio country for France. The French in 1753 built three forts

The Wagon Road Turns West

Despite a proclamation by King George III in 1763 to restrict English settlement to the eastern slope of the Appalachians, the bold procession of western pioneers refused to be held back. So great was the pressure that the King was forced to modify his dictum. In 1768, he permitted Sir William Johnson, Great Britain's agent to the northwestern Indians, to negotiate a new treaty with the naive tribesmen. By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, New York, the area of British settlement was moved westward across the Applachians as far west as the Tennessee River. It was a great advance, but it was to cost many lives.

This was the verdant country soon to become known as Kentucky and Tennessee. To many pioneers, however, it was to become "The Dark and Bloody Ground," as a Cherokee chief, Dragging Canoe, warned North Carolina land speculators who came in 1768 to buy his tribal acres. "We have given you a fine land, Brother," he declared as the last covenant chain gifts were exchanged, "but you will find it under a cloud—*a dark and bloody ground.*"

Little was known of the new land at first. "The country beyond the Cumberland Mountains still appeared, to the dusky view of the generality of the people of Virginia, almost as obscure and doubtful as America itself to the people of Europe before the voyage of Columbus," wrote John Marshall in these years. "A country there was . . . but whether land or water, mountain or plain, fertility or barrenness preponderated—whether inhabited by men or beasts, or both, or neither, they knew not. If inhabited by men, they were supposed to be Indians—for such had always infested the frontiers. And this had been a powerful reason for not exploring the region west of the Great Mountains, which concealed Kentucky from their sight."

Such was the general ignorance of the lands beyond the Appalachians for nearly fifty years after the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road had its beginning. Not until 1750, when Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle County, Virginia, rode west to explore the area for the Loyal Land Company, was the nature of Kentucky's terrain known.

As one of the incorporators of the Loyal, the adventurous Walker hoped to leave his family rich. Along with Councilor John Lewis of Augusta, who had surveyed western Virginia with Peter Jefferson and Joshua Fry, Walker and a few other influential Virginians had received title from the Virginia Council in 1748 to extensive western lands. These he naturally wished to explore.

Leaving his Castle Hill plantation in Albemarle in the spring of 1750, Walker and five companies rode west for several days over the Wagon Road. They were awed by the great Natural Bridge, once worshipped by the Monacan Indians as "the Bridge of God." Then, leaving the Road and plunging through the mountains, they followed an ancient buffalo trail which the Indians had discovered to press through the rocky Cumberland range.

Small, blue-eyed Thomas Walker shared the Virginian fever for westward settlement which Alexander Spotswood had generated when his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe first climbed the Blue Ridge. Educated at the College of William and Mary and trained in "physic," he had married a wealthy cousin of George Washington's and moved to her 11,000-acre estate in Virginia's piedmont. Intoxicated by prospects of trans-Appalachian riches, he largely quit medical practice to explore, to map, and to write of his discoveries.

With typical zest, Walker described the colony of Dunkards, or German Baptist Brethren, whom he came upon in the Valley after their exodus from Pennsylvania.

> The Duncards are an odd set of people [he wrote], who make it a matter of Religion not to Shave their Beards, ly on Beds, or eat Flesh, though at present, in the last, they transgress, being constrained to it, as they say, by the want of a sufficiency of Grain and Roots, they having not long been seated here I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of the Venison & Turkeys has contributed not a little to this. The unmarried have no private Property, but live on a common Stock. They dont baptize either Young or Old, they keep their Sabbat on Saturday, & hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins.[1]

Leaving the westernmost Virginia settlement, Walker's explorers passed into the Tennessee territory, which was then part of North Carolina's claim. Then, following the indistinct trail worn down by buffalo and Indians, Dr. Walker and his horsemen came upon a

narrow and rocky mountain pass hitherto unknown to white men in North America. A gateway to the west had been found. Naming the defile Cumberland Gap in honor of the son of King George II, the Duke of Cumberland, he pushed on through the Appalachians to the "Dark and Bloody Ground" of Kentucky.

It was an important discovery, for Cumberland Gap would soon become one of the three main routes through the Appalachians into the Ohio Valley. The most northerly route, already discovered, led from the Hudson Valley in New York through the Mohawk River to the Great Lakes. A second route led northward along the Potomac River to western Maryland and thence through Pennsylvania to the juncture of the Ohio and Monongahela, where the town of Pittsburgh was to grow. But Cumberland's gateway—the new route—was easiest for Great Road travelers.

For military purposes, the colonies found Cumberland Gap an immediate strategic advantage in warring with the French and Indians on the Ohio River. Louis XVI's forces there were far from their Canadian base of supplies, and they lacked in the South the powerful Iroquois allies who fought with them in the North. Accordingly, colonial militia in the years 1754–1763 made good use of the Cumberland Gap and of the nearby Holston and Watauga river valleys to force the French from the Valley and gain Britain's great North American victory.

Not until 1768, when "The Dark and Bloody Ground" was bought from Dragging Canoe and other chieftains, did settlement begin to push through Cumberland Gap in force. Leading the van was a thin-lipped Carolina backwoodsman named Daniel Boone, who in May 1769 took the first of his many expeditions through Cumberland Gap, bound for Kentucky.

The son of a Pennsylvania Quaker who had led his family down the Wagon Road in 1750 to the Yadkin River near Bethabara, Daniel Boone became the all-time hero of Kentucky frontiersmen. Serving as a boy wagoner in General Edward Braddock's tragic expedition to dislodge the French at Fort Duquesne in 1755, he knew the woods and its language as well as any Indian brave. Ill-educated and a failure at farming, he never reaped the riches from furs or lands which a few other frontiersmen did. Yet Dan Boone embodied the spirit of the early frontier as did no other American.

Dressed in coonskin cap, buckskin jumper, and leggings, Boone

disappeared for weeks at a time into the dense Kentucky wilderness, always to return. He set the style for the western outdoorsman for the centuries to follow, from Lewis and Clark to the cowboy heroes of the movies and television. He was the model, consciously or otherwise, for Davy Crockett, Buffalo Bill, Teddy Roosevelt, and Tom Mix. To Europeans, Daniel Boone created an American image: the natural man of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, living in total freedom amid the beauty of nature.

Typical of his naive heroics was the inscription he cut into a beech tree along the Watauga River in Tennessee. It read:

D. Boon
cilled A BAR on
The Tree
in YEAR
1770[2]

After a youth in Pennsylvania and Virginia, Boone at twenty-two married dark-eyed Rebecca Bryan and settled down near the Great Road in North Carolina. But the lure of the frontier tugged at him. John Finley, an itinerant peddler, who traveled the Road from Pennsylvania selling his wares, first roused Boone's interest in finding the Cumberland Gap which Thomas Walker had first traveled in 1750. "There's a big gap in the mountain range which the Indians use," Finley told Boone one day in 1768.

That was all Daniel Boone needed to hear.

Leaving a settlement called Castle's Woods—then the farthest western village in Virginia—Boone and Finley and four companions followed the Valley of Virginia almost into North Carolina before turning west, as Thomas Walker had eighteen years earlier. Describing the trip, Boone wrote:

> We found every where abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I had seen cattle in the settlements, browzing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing.[3]

Hacking their way through dense underbrush, Boone's explorers followed a Shawnee trail to the Cumberland River and a nearby

buffalo wallow known as Flat Lick, where Indians collected salt. Then, steadily climbing upward over rocky terrain, they at last gazed down through virgin pine forest to the rich land of Kentucky. It called forth Boone's purplest prose:

> Just at the close of day the gentle gales retired and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and, looking around with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand I surveyed the famous Ohio River, that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds.[4]

The magic of cheap land now lured many to follow the Great Wagon Road as far south as Fort Chiswell, a palisade built by the colony of Virginia in 1768 to protect the western frontier and strategically important lead mines of John Chiswell. From this fort (near the later site of Wytheville, Virginia) the narrow horse path which led down the Valley of Virginia now became known as the Wilderness Road.

To extend the road through Cumberland Gap to the new settlement lands in Tennessee and Kentucky, Colonel Richard Henderson sought out Boone and contracted with him to do the work.

Henderson, a shrewd North Carolina lawyer, had studied the British treaties acquiring the Tennessee-Kentucky lands from the Indians, and he concluded that the Cherokees still legally owned valuable lands on the Ohio in Kentucky. Accordingly, Henderson formed the Transylvania Company and bought a 20,000,000-acre Kentucky tract from Cherokee chiefs for 10,000 pounds of serviceable goods. To cut a trail through Cumberland Gap to provide access to this area, which Henderson named Transylvania, Daniel Boone was offered 2,000 acres and each of his thirty workers a smaller tract.

Henderson's purchase immediately aroused rival Virginia investors in the Ohio and Loyal land companies. Thus, as the fearless Daniel was hacking his way into Kentucky and fighting off Shawnee attacks, Colonel William Preston of Draper's Meadows (later Blacksburg) was notifying Virginia's Governor Dunmore of the unexpected "invasion" of Virginia's Kentucky territory:

> A great number of Hands [Preston wrote] are employed in cutting a Waggon Road through Mockeson & Cumberland Gaps to the Kentucky which they expect to compleat before planting time; & at least 500 people are preparing to go out this Spring, from Carolina besides great Numbers from Virga. to Settle there.[5]

Dunmore quickly protested Henderson's move, calling it illegal and terming his investors "disorderly persons." Even the dispassionate George Washington, who had invested in other frontier lands, conceded that "there is something in that affair which I neither understood, nor like, and I wish I may not have cause to dislike it worse as the mystery unfolds."

Boone completed the Cumberland Gap road in a surprisingly short time, thereby unleashing a rush of immigration through the Appalachians. One of the old frontiersman's road-builders paid this tribute to his leadership:

> I must not neglect to give honor to whom honor is due. Col. Boone conducted the company under his care through the wilderness with great propriety, intrepidity, and courage, and was I to enter an exception to any part of his conduct, it would be on the ground that he appeared void of fear and its consequence—too little caution for the enterprise. But let me, with feeling recollection and lasting gratitude, ever remember the unremitting kindness, sympathy, and attention paid to me by Col. Boone in my distress. He was my father, my phisician, and friend: he attended me as his child, cured my wounds by the use of medicines from the woods, nursed me with paternal affection until I recovered, without the expectation of reward.[6]

Once through Cumberland Gap, Daniel Boone's company pushed northward to the Kentucky River and built a fort called Boonesborough. This was the beginning of what Henderson intended as a proprietary colony, like William Penn's Pennsylvania. Soon other settlements were planted at Harrodsburg, Boiling Spring, and Logan's Station, and Henderson organized a provisional Transylvanian government. However, the Virginia and North Carolina colonies in 1776 persuaded the first Continental Congress to refuse Transylvania's plea to be admitted as the fourteenth colony. Suddenly, Henderson's dream died overnight.

Instead, Virginia made Kentucky its huge westernmost county, placing the county seat in the little log town of Fincastle, not far from Ingles' Ferry on the Wagon Road.

Though the storm of Revolution was about to burst, the Wilderness Road immediately attracted pioneers as word spread of the new road into Kentucky through Cumberland Gap. Known also as Boone's Trail, the Kentucky Road, and the Virginia Road, it diverted westward many land-hunters coming down the Valley of Virginia. As one chronicler of the Wilderness Road wrote:

> Through the great trough between the Alleghany and Blue Ridge ranges passes the pioneer route to which we of the central West owe as much as to any thoroughfare in America—that rough, long, roundabout road which, coming down from Lancaster and York, crossed the Potomac at Watkin's Ferry and passed up the Shenandoah valley by Martinsburg, Winchester, and Staunton; and on to the headwaters of the New River, where it was joined by the thoroughfare [road] through central Virginia from Richmond. Here, near the meeting of these famous old-time Virginia thoroughfares, stood Fort Chiswell, erected in 1758 and situated 200 miles east of Cumberland Gap. Beyond Fort Chiswell ran the Indian trail toward the Gap and, within 50 miles of the Gap, stood Fort Watauga on a branch of the Holston.[7]

Once Boone had cut the Wilderness Road, enterprising merchants built fortified "stations" like Castle's Woods to sell ammunition, hardware, provisions, and overnight accommodations to pioneers. These stations were small palisades, each enclosing a blockhouse and outbuildings to protect against attack from Shawnees and Cherokees who resented the sale of their lands.

Many of the migrants went west in pursuit of land bounties granted by the colony of Virginia for military service in the French and Indian Wars. Lacking money to pay pensions, the Old Dominion was persuaded by George Washington to thus repay the militiamen who had fought with Braddock at Fort Duquesne or elsewhere on the frontier. Each veteran received from 50 to 3,000 acres, based on his rank and length of service.

Always alert to opportunity, many Scotch-Irish went west to the new territories. One was John Brown, the pioneer Presbyterian minister who had taught the first classical school in the Valley of Virginia near Lexington after 1749. To his father-in-law, the influential Colonel William Preston of Draper's Meadows, Brown wrote on May 5, 1775:

> What a buzzel is amongst people about Kentuck! To hear people speak of it one would think it was a new found paradise; and I

doubt not if it be such a place as represented but ministers will have thin congregations, but why need I fear that? Ministers are moveable goods as well as others and stand in need of good land as others do, for they are bad farmers.[8]

Among others who soon moved to Kentucky was Thomas Lincoln, who went out from Virginia, married Nancy Hanks, and fathered Abraham Lincoln. To the Tennessee wilderness went a young North Carolina couple whose son, Davy Crockett, was born in 1786 there. About the same time, James Knox Polk, aged 11, helped his parents build their humble cabin in the Duck River Valley in the Tennessee territory of North Carolina.

From Spotsylvania County, Virginia, a Baptist minister led his congregation over the Wilderness Road to Kentucky, singing hymns and praying hourly along the way.

Moving west over the Wagon and Wilderness roads from Pennsylvania in 1783 was John Filson, a young school teacher who glowingly described his travels in *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky,* published in 1784. He measured the mileage from Philadelphia to Fort Nelson—later Louisville—at 826 miles. Among his stops he listed Botetourt Courthouse, Virginia, which became the town of Fincastle; and "Fort Chissel," as most travelers spelled Chiswell.

One of the Wilderness Road's earliest forts was Martin's Station, built by Captain Joseph Martin about 1774 near the eastern entrance to Cumberland Gap. Martin was appointed as Virginia's Indian agent in the region. His usefulness in promoting the Tennessee and Kentucky settlements is illustrated by a letter which Richard Henderson, the land speculator, wrote him in 1775 from Kentucky's chief settlement:

Boonesborough
12th June 1775

Dear sir:

Mr. Ralph Williams, David Burney, and William Mellar will shortly apply to you for salt and other things which we left with you and was sent for us since we came away—Please to deliver to them, or those they may employ, what they ask for, and take a receipt—Also write me a few lines informing me, what you have sent &c by them and by whom—I long much to hear from you, pray write me at Large, how the matter goes with you in the valley, as

well as what passes in Virginia—If the packhorsemen should want any thing which you see is necessary, please to let them have it on our acct.—All things goes well hitherto with us, I hope they do with you would have sent your Mares but am afraid they are not done horsing. They will be safely brought by my brother in a few weeks.

I am Dr. Sir your
Hble Servt
Rich. Henderson.[9]

Mr. Joseph Martin in the Valley

At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1776, settlers were again exposed to the murderous Indian attacks of the French and Indian Wars. The heaviest casualties were among settlers beyond the Appalachians. These included Daniel Boone's Kentuckians as well as the hardy few who had emigrated through the Holston, Watauga, and Clinch River valleys into eastern Tennessee.

Like Kentucky's pioneers, these Tennessee settlers had plunged westward without awaiting the protecting arm of government. Mistakenly assuming they were in Virginia—until a survey in 1780 proved otherwise—they followed the statutes of that colony. Chief among their leaders was John Sevier, who had come west with his brother from Virginia.

Against the Watauga settlements, Cherokee warriors made the first of a series of bloody attacks in July 1776, to drive the white men east of the Appalachians. It was a critical moment in the western migration of Americans. Years later, one historian wrote:

> The opening scene of the Revolutionary War in the West was the most important phase of the war in the history of Boone's Wilderness Road; for at the very outset the question was decided once for all whether or not that thin, long, priceless path to Kentucky through the Watauga settlement was to be held or lost. If it could not be held, there was no hope left for the brave men who had gone to found that western empire beyond the Cumberland mountains. . . .[10]

Embittered by the sale of their lands, the Cherokees were now persuaded by the British to join forces against the rebellious colonists. To assist the Indians, the British sent fifty packhorses loaded with ammunition to the Indians of the Carolina and Georgia uplands. "Kill the Long Knives!" was now the war cry.

To justify this warfare against The Great King Over the Water (as Britain's monarch was known to the Indians), the colonies' Indian

agent read this parable to warriors assembled in the tribal villages of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws:

> Suppose a father had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him; and making up a small pack, he bid him carry it for his father. The boy cheerfully takes this pack up, following his father with it. The father, finding the boy willing and obedient, continues in this way; and as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack in proportion larger; yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so without grumbling.
>
> At length, however, the boy, having arrived at manhood, while the father is making up the pack for him, in comes a person of an evil disposition, and, learning who was to be the carrier of the pack, advises the father to make it heavier, for surely the son is able to carry a larger pack. The father . . . makes up a heavy load for his son to carry. The son addresses the father:
>
> "Dear Father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry . . ."
>
> The father orders his son to take up his pack and carry it off or he will whip him.
>
> "So," says the son, "am I to be served thus for not doing what I am unable to do? . . . then I have no other choice left me but that of resisting your unreasonable demand and thus, by striking each other, learn who is the strongest."[11]

The survival of the trans-Appalachian settlements in the Revolution was due chiefly to George Rogers Clark's heroic campaign against the British and Indians in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, beginning in 1776. Persuading Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, that "If a Cuntrey was not worth protecting, it was not worth Claiming," Clark marched his 500 Virginia militiamen into Virginia's Northwest Territory. With four companies of frontiersmen which he had enlisted in the Holston River and Kentucky settlements, the fearless Clark captured British forts at Kaskaskia, Illinois, and Vincennes, Indiana, thus shattering British military power in the northwest.

To cap the victory, the Virginia frontiersmen captured Britain's Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton at Detroit. After returning him to Virginia via the Wilderness Road—a distance of 840 miles—they imprisoned him in the colony's jail at Williamsburg. "The Hair-Buyer" (so-called for the bounty he paid Indians for colonists' scalps) found the trip grueling. At one frontier station, His Excellency was "accosted by the females especially in pretty coarse terms." Of the Wilderness Road, he wrote:

> The difficulty of marching through such a country as this is not readily imagined by a European. The Canes grow very close together, to the height of 25 feet and from the thickness of a quill to that of one's waist. As they are very strong and supple, the rider must be constantly on the watch to guard his face from them, as they fly back with great force. The leaves and young shoots are a fodder horses are exceedingly fond of and are eternally turning to right and left to take a bite. The soil where they grow is rich and deep so you plod thro in a narrow track like a cowpath, while the musketoes are not idle.[12]

The revival of emigration over the Wagon and Wilderness roads came immediately after the Revolution. Writing from Mahanaim, a Dunkard colony near Fort Chiswell in 1782, William Christian urged better protection against Indians for the pioneers traversing Cumberland Gap:

> The Gap is near half way betwixt our settlement on Holston and Kentucky, and a post there would be a resting place for our poor citizens going back and forward, and would be a great means of saving the lives of hundreds of them. For it seldom happens that Indians will kill people near where they trade; & it is thereabouts the most of the mischief has been done . . . I view the change I propose as of great importance to the frontier of Washington [County], to our people journeying to & from Kentucky, particularly the poor families moving out . . ."[13]

During the Revolution and for several years after, travelers from the Wagon Road usually went to Kentucky and Tennessee in groups, armed with rifles. The scheduled departure of such companies was advertised so that prospective travelers might join up. A Kentucky newspaper carried this announcement of a group forming up at Crab Orchard, a Kentucky way station, to return to the Valley of Virginia:

> Notice
>
> Is hereby given, that a company will meet at the Crab Orchard, on Sunday the 4th of May, to go through the wilderness, and to set out on the 5th, at which time most of the Delegates to the state convention will go.[14]

Another read:

Notice

A large company will meet at the Crab-Orchard the 19th of November in order to start the next day through the Wilderness. As it is very dangerous on account of the Indians, it is hoped each person will go well armed.[15]

Indian attacks continued in Kentucky and Tennessee for several decades, usually by Shawnees but occasionally by renegade Cherokees. After one ambush near Cumberland Gap in the winter of 1787, an armed group of men formed and followed the Indians' footprints through heavy snow. Near dusk, they saw the marauders drying themselves around their campfire. When the frontiersmen charged, the surprised braves fled naked into the night. Most of them died of exposure in the bitter cold.

Boone's Wilderness Road remained an important offshoot of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road for many years. By 1790, when the first United States Census was taken, nearly 70,000 people had climbed on foot or on horseback over that steep path. When Kentucky was admitted as the fifteenth state of the union in 1792, the stream of immigrants increased. Some came by keelboat down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh or Wheeling, but the majority took the safer overland route.

The fabled fertility of mid-Tennessee and mid-Kentucky drew countless farmers from the worn-out tobacco lands of the east. Whole villages of people pulled up stakes and went west. "The more pious companies as they traveled along," one writer observed, "would now and then give up in despair, sit down, raise a hymn, and have prayers said before they would go further."

Cumberland Gap continued to offer a challenge. "While yet some miles away," one traveler exclaimed, "it looms up, 1675 feet in elevation, some half-a-mile across from crest to crest, the pinnacle on the left towering to the height of 2,500 feet." After Kentucky became a state the footpath was improved and widened to accommodate wagons.

To do this work, Colonel John Logan and James Knox hired surveyors and road cutters at two shillings six pence daily. When the Kentucky Assembly decided to widen the remaining portion of the road to thirty feet, tough old Daniel Boone, now sixty-one, wrote Governor Isaac Shelby and asked to be placed in charge:

Feburey the 11th 1796

Sir

After my Best respts to your Excelancy and famyly I wish to inform you that I have sum intention of undertaking this New Rode that is to be Cut through the Wilderness and I think My Self intiteled to the ofer of the Bisness as I first Marked uot that Rode in March 1775 and Never Re'd anything for my trubel and Sepose I am No Statesman I am a Woodsman and think My Self as Capable of Marking and Cutting the Rode as any other man. Sir if you think with Me I would thank you to wright mee a Line by the post the first oportuneaty and he Will Lodge it at Mr. John Miler son hinkston fork as I wish to know Where and When it is to be Laat [let] So that I may atend at the time.

I am Deer Sir your very omble sarvent.

[Daniel Boone][16]

The opening of Tennessee and Kentucky deflected much of the former traffic of the Wagon Road for several decades, but the road continued to grow in importance. Indeed, the great years of the Deep South's settlement were yet to come. The ancient path which led through the Carolinas to Georgia would continue to lead to green lands and golden opportunity. The Great Philadelphia Wagon Road would grow with the years.

The Saga of Castle's Woods

The Wilderness Road was well named, for those who travele lonesome miles saw little evidence of civilization. The southwes extremity of the Valley of Virginia, through which it ran, w rugged land of cliff and forest, dotted only occasionally with a hut.

One of the first settlers of this wilderness was Jacob Castle, moved westward from Augusta County, Virginia, about 1746, bought a small tract from the Indians on the Clinch River, pa for it with a butcher knife and rusty musket. He gave the area name Castle's Woods. Insignificant as it was, it gained a n repute as the westernmost settlement along the Wilderness Roa Kentucky. It later became the town of Saltville.

Jacob Castle was a roving hunter, living for months in the w with no companionship save that of the Cherokees and Shawn From them he traded deerskins, which he bartered or sol wagoners trading along the Great Road.

Leaving his cabin in the fall, Castle would disappear for mo into the pine forests. Dressed in deerskin hunting shirt with b skin moccasins and leggings, he might have been mistaken fo Indian but for the beaver cap he wore, its tail hanging down to nape of his neck. In a sling over one shoulder he carried hat knife, shot pouch, and such provisions as meal, salt, jerked beef, pemmican. Over the other he slung his rifle, which was always him.

This weapon was the familiar long-barreled rifle made by manic gunsmiths in eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and along road. Known by its early makers as the *jaeger* or hunter's rif became known in these times as the Pennsylvania rifle. Kentuc were soon to call it their own.

In 1769—about twenty years after Jacob Castle settled in we Virginia—other pioneers cleared patches at Castle's Woods moved in as squatters. So vast were the western landholdings o Loyal Company that emigrants to this section simply set up h keeping without the formality of buying or renting property.

proved poor, they moved on; if fertile, they continued to squat until confronted by the owner and forced to buy.

Indian threats compelled Castle's Woods pioneers to live close together, though they had little in common. Some of its squatters came from nearby Virginia and North Carolina, while at least one group—William and John Cowan and their families—had emigrated from County Down, in Ireland.

To protect themselves, the settlers about 1770 built a protective wooden palisade, calling it Snoddy's Fort for William Snoddy, who was in command, in case of attack. Within the palisade stood a two-story wooden blockhouse, stoutly built and containing small gunports, in lieu of windows. From these second-story openings riflemen could fire down on Indians besieging the fort.

To warn the villagers of danger, the lookout fired a gun or rang the fort's bell. The frontiersmen soon learned that the chance of attack was greatest in summer and early fall, when the Indians roamed farthest from their mountain camps. The lazy September days of Indian summer were especially dangerous, especially if there were an autumnal haze over the hills to cloak the stealthy approach of the attackers.

By the time the newly formed frontier Virginia county of Botetourt had extended its operations to Castle's Woods in 1770, the area had attracted more than eighty families. The county's tithable list for the year 1772, which enumerated all white males over sixteen years for purposes of taxes and militia rolls, numbered sixty-three. Each tithable in that year paid twenty-five pounds of tobacco, valued at one penny per pound.

Several of Castle's Woods's settlers had fought for the Virginia colony in the French and Indian Wars and were therefore entitled to a land grant. Such grants were not at first recognized at Castle's Woods because the land was owned by the Loyal Land Company, but Virginia's Council in 1773 voted in Williamsburg to award veterans' grants wherever they chose, provided the land had not been previously cleared. (The veterans thanked George Washington for this measure, for he had argued their right to such reward.)

When new settlers arrived and increased the population, another protective palisade, Moore's Fort, was built a mile from Snoddy's Fort. One of the new men who helped build it was William Russell, who had come out from coastal Virginia. Russell was the son

of an English immigrant to Culpeper County, Virginia, who had served as a militia colonel in the French and Indian Wars. His son, William, had attended the College of William and Mary a year, had fought against the French, and had then moved his wife, children, and several slaves to Castle's Woods in 1770.

"My hands are so sore at work about the fort," Russell recorded in 1774, "I can scarce write."

About twenty families were protected in Moore's Fort. To garrison it, the militia assigned twenty-five soldiers from 1774 until 1778, when the threat of Indian or British assault from the west was reduced by George Rogers Clark's conquest of British forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Castle's Woods in these days was a typical frontier mixture of English, Scotch-Irish, and Germanic descendants together with a few Negro slaves.

To provide for unified defense of southwestern Virginia and the growing Kentucky settlement, the Virginia colony in 1773 placed this vast territory in the new county of Fincastle. A county seat was established near Fort Chiswell and the Wagon Road, and William Russell of Castle's Woods was appointed one of fifteen justices of the peace to administer the vast territory.

Heightened importance was attached to this area by the colonies' urgent need in the Revolution for the lead produced by Colonel John Chiswell's mines, not far from Castle's Woods. In July 1775, the Virginia Assembly sternly directed the Fincastle Committee of Safety to contract with the mines for "such quantities of lead as may be judged necessary." Should the owner be uncooperative, the Committee was directed to operate the mines "at the charge of the colony."

Young William Russell had been attracted to the frontier by the prospect of riches, and he cast covetous eyes toward Kentucky. However, his effort brought him only grief.

Knowing Daniel Boone's familiarity with that region, Russell engaged Boone in October 1773 to lead a group of Castle's Woods settlers to Kentucky. Dividing into three detachments, they set forth. In the first went women, children, cattle, and baggage, while the second group contained the eldest sons of Russell and Boone with other settlers and slaves. Russell and several other men brought up the rear.

But Indians attacked the caravan the first night out. Russell's

son Henry and Boone's son James were shot through the hips and stabbed repeatedly. Young Boone died in agony begging to be killed, after his tormenters pulled out his fingernails and toenails. Several other boys were killed instantly, together with one of Russell's two slaves.

After they buried their dead, the families met and decided to return to Castle's Woods. Boone, who had sold his farm on the Yadkin River before heading west, would have been homeless but for the loan of David Gass's cabin at Castle's Woods.

Russell had the attackers hunted down. Found to be two Shawnee chiefs, they were put to death.

When British Indian agents unleashed the wholesale fury of their Cherokee and Shawnee allies in 1774 against the Appalachian frontier, several of Castle's Woods families fled east toward safety. To meet this threat the Fincastle County militia was mobilized, and garrisons were strengthened at Fort Chiswell, Castle's Woods, and elsewhere along the thin line of settlement.

Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner, another Castle's Woods resident, were sent into Kentucky to warn that area of expected Indian attack. Not far behind them marched Colonel William Christian, commanding a company of Fincastle County's militia sent westward to attack the Shawnees in their Kentucky villages.

Crossing the Appalachians, Christian's troops joined those from Augusta and Botetourt counties under Colonel Andrew Lewis to defeat Chief Cornstalk and his naked Shawnee warriors in the battle of Point Pleasant. This triumph over the most militant of the Appalachian tribesmen opened up a large part of what later became West Virginia.

William Russell represented Castle's Woods on the Fincastle County Committee of Safety when it met in January 1775, and expressed the western frontier's growing hostility to British rule. Despite its "love" for King George III, it refused to submit "liberty or property to the power of a venal British Parliament, or to the will of a corrupt ministry." Its members pronounced themselves "deliberately determined never to surrender" their freedoms to any power on earth.

William Russell was sent by Fincastle County to Virginia's historic Constitutional Convention in Williamsburg in 1776, and he became one of the county's first ten representatives to the new House of Delegates.

The thin-spread militia units of the frontier were moved frequently, often leaving villages like Castle's Woods exposed to Indian attack. Such was the case in 1783, when seventeen Indians assailed one of its two forts. With their men gone off to war, the women and children were unprotected. Capturing Ann Bush Neece, who had survived an earlier scalping at Indian hands, they tomahawked and killed her. Attempting to breach the fort, they were fought off by the remaining women. With only two guns left to them, the women killed two Indians and dispersed the others.

When Captain William Russell returned home after the Revolution, his wife had died, and he soon married Elizabeth Henry Campbell, sister of Patrick Henry and widow of General William Campbell, who had commanded frontiersmen in their victory over the British at Kings Mountain, South Carolina. Elected again to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1785, he was honored by having the new county of Russell named for him.

Life at Castle's Woods reflected the easy-going morality of the frontier. In the first years after the Revolution, before the advent of Baptist and Methodist evangelists, householders commonly danced, played cards, and imbibed beer and whiskey without guilt. Sex morality was liberal, and bastardy was not uncommon. The names of Mary Culberson, Prudence Osbourn, and Abigail Beavers appear in early records as mothers of illegitimate children. Prudence Peppers had hers taken from her and placed with a family. Frances King was dismissed after trial for murdering her "base-born child." Other offenses were profanity, drinking on the Sabbath, "breaking open a letter," and selling "bad corn liquor."

Indians remained an occasional threat. In 1785, Castle's Woods was alarmed by the attack nearby on the family of Archibald Scott and his wife, Fannie Dickenson Scott. The tribesmen first killed Scott and the three youngest children, then stabbing the eldest child as she clung to her mother. They then abducted Fannie Scott and carried her northward. After eleven days, the wiry young woman eluded her captors and made her way through the Appalachian Mountains. After a month in the forest with no food except berries, leaves, and cane juice, she reached Castle's Woods and was slowly nursed back to health.

The usual fare of Castle's Woods cabins was "hog and hominy," the two staples of frontier diet. This was usually served with cornbread. Milk and mush were eaten for supper, and mush was some-

times accompanied by sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil, or gravy. Pork was preferred to venison and beef, and chicken was a delicacy usually reserved for "company."

Throughout the colonial years, the frontier men along the Appalachians usually wore deerskin hunting shirts, fringed with colored cloth, together with leggings and moccasins. In the nineteenth century, men began to adopt the European fashion of long trousers. Frontier women wore homemade cotton or wool dresses, topped by sunbonnets or poke bonnets.

Negro slaves were uncommon along the frontier, but a few farmers and artisans owned them. At Castle's Woods the Russells and Dickensons each had several. More commonly found were indentured white servants, who were bound by their guardians or impoverished parents to serve a master for a given period of time. Meanwhile they were to serve faithfully and "not commit fornication nor contract matrimony during the said term . . . play at cards, dice, or any unlawful game."

Castle's Woods adopted use of decimal currency in 1792, along with the rest of the United States. The Russell County Court prescribed the permissible prices which county taverns could charge: a warm dinner, twenty-five cents; breakfast, eighteen cents; a half pint of whiskey, nine cents; a quart of cider, nine cents; and overnight lodging "between clean sheets," nine cents.

Like most frontier towns, Castle's Woods, was strongly Protestant. Most of the earliest settlers were nominal Anglicans or Presbyterians, though no church served them for many years. Baptists were the most numerous and active denomination, building Brick Church in 1774 or 1775. The tradition long persisted in Castle's Woods that Daniel Boone had a hand in building it, but there is no evidence that Daniel was a church-going man.

Unlike nearby Abingdon, which became the county seat of neighboring Washington County in 1776, Castle's Woods did not attract many Scotch-Irish settlers. The largest denomination after 1788 was the Methodist, which had split off from the Anglican or Episcopal church four years earlier, after growing for fifty years as an Anglican reform movement. During the revival services conducted along the frontier by Bishop Francis Asbury and other circuit-riding spellbinders, many frontiersmen left other sects to join the Methodists.

("I left the navy of the Lord," explained one lapsed Baptist who heeded Asbury's appeal, "to join the army of the Lord.")

Part of Methodism's success on the Wilderness Road was the work of the Reverend John Tunnel. In Tunnel's congregation one Sunday in 1788 were Brigadier General and Mrs. William Russell, now approaching old age. At the end of the service, Mrs. Russell came forward to the pulpit and confessed to the evangelist that she was "the veriest sinner upon earth." After several hours of earnest prayer with Tunnel and her husband, Elizabeth Henry Russell was converted. The General soon followed.

Like many other Americans of their time, they left the Episcopal Church, which once had been powerful but which had suffered in the Revolution from its association with hated Toryism. The change was symptomatic of the rise of Calvinism and revivalism in post-Revolutionary America.

Methodism's acceptance in Castle's Woods did not come overnight. Indeed, Francis Asbury was dismayed when he held a service there at Charles Bickley's tavern in 1790 and drew seventy people. Deciding to try again the next day, Asbury and his fellow evangelist, Bishop Richard Whatcoat, were again chagrined at the small turnout. Whatcoat expressed amazement that people living in such danger of death from the Indians should have "no more religion than the savages."

But the great revivalism of the age was beginning to stir even the remote frontiersmen of Castle's Wood. When Francis Asbury made his next visit to the region, he found 200 people waiting to hear him preach at Russell County Courthouse. After the suffocating Presbyterianism of Abingdon, he gasped, he felt as if he were "escaping from a prison!"

On his final visit to Castle's Woods in 1801, the aging Methodist pioneer could begin to see the fruition of his many and arduous frontier trips. "I was amazed at the goodness of the Lord to this western country generally," Asbury wrote in his journal, "and was surprised and gratified to observe the improvements made in Russell County particularly."

Like many other villages along the Wagon and Wilderness roads, Castle's Woods suffered from the pioneers' mystic belief that a better opportunity somehow lay in wait for them a little further down the road. This naive optimism of the frontier was to continue

where the aforesaid road meets with the same, . . . your petitioner humbly requests your Honors to recommend him to his Honor, the Governor, for a license to keep a public house of entertainment in the aforesaid place . . .

Joshua Evans[10]

The tavern was named for Pasquale di Paoli, a Corsican general and patriot admired by Americans for leading his people in rebellion against the Genoese in 1755. Appropriately enough, it became a gathering place for Revolutionary-minded Chester County men in the years leading to the Revolution. In that conflict, Joshua Evans briefly deserted his hostly duties to serve as a general in the Pennsylvania forces.

The General Paoli Inn long survived, being remodeled as late as 1881 to serve as a resort. It gave the name Paoli to the township which became a suburb of Philadelphia.

Another well-known stop between Philadelphia and Lancaster was the Green Tree Inn, which was patronized chiefly by wagoners. Like the General Paoli, it was known as a "Whig house" because of the pro-Revolutionary sentiments of its operator, one Coffman. Its meals were celebrated. When customers arrived in unexpected numbers, the tavern-keeper would go into the tavern yard with a handful of corn, call his chickens to eat it, then knock them out with a cane and deliver them to the waiting cook.

Both innkeepers and patrons suffered hardships, but the camaraderie of the road united them. Such men as Casper Fahnestock and Joshua Evans became an important part of the life of their time. Not only were they hosts but they filled many other functions: as arbiters of quarrels, physicians to the ill, counselors to migrating Europeans, dispensers of news, postmen, military recruiters, and politicians. With their help, America moved forward.

Oh, the songs they would sing, and the tales they would spin,
As they lounged in the light of the old country inn.
But a day came at last when the stage brought no load
To the gate, as it rolled up the long, dusty road.
And lo! at the sunrise a shrill whistle blew
O'er the hills—and the old yielded place to the new—
And a merciless age with its discord and din
Made wreck, as it passed, of the pioneer inn.[11]

The Spirit of Luther

To the "German Tract" which developed in the Valley of Virginia a few years before the Revolution there came a new minister from Pennsylvania. He was Peter Muhlenberg. Tall and of a commanding presence, he became pastor of a small flock of Lutherans at Woodstock, in the foothills of the Massanutten Mountains south of Winchester.

Most Germanic settlers shied away from the politics of the frontier, but not Peter Muhlenburg. Well-educated and fluent in both English and German, he became a leader among emigrants from the Palatinate and Switzerland who had begun to farm along the Appalachians beginning in the 1730s. By the time the American colonies won their independence in 1783, Muhlenberg was a household name.

Peter Muhlenberg enjoyed a great advantage, for he was known to many Virginia Lutherans before he came south from Pennsylvania in 1771. His father, the venerable Pastor Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, had come to Pennsylvania in 1742, straight out of the German universities of Halle and Göttingen. Old Heinrich was not only a strong preacher but an organizer. In 1748, he succeeded in bringing together representatives of all the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland. Thus had been born the first Lutheran Synod in the New World.

On his farm at Trappe, Pennsylvania, Pastor Heinrich Muhlenberg and his wife reared a large family. Each Sunday he rode his horse to preach to one of the scattered congregations of his faith in the vicinity. At night he taught his daughters and sons. Of these two were to enter the ministry and to become leaders of men. One was John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, who was born at Trappe four years after his parents reached Pennsylvania from the Old World. The other was Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, who came along four years later.

The Muhlenberg brothers had the dignified presence of their father. Furthermore, they grew up at a time when Germanic emigrants to Pennsylvania needed spokesmen to represent their views

to English-speaking county officials and tradesmen—and to explain the confusing maze of Pennsylvania's laws and customs to them in their native tongue. For, unlike the unworldly Mennonites and Amishmen, Lutherans wanted to be part of the new world into which they had come.

By the 1760s, when young Peter Muhlenberg returned to his native Pennsylvania from the University of Halle, he found that Germans were moving in large numbers from the Pennsylvania frontier to the Valley of Virginia. There they clustered in farm villages between the mountain ranges of the Blue Ridge, the Massanutten, and the Shenandoah.

Although the Germans spread over a dozen upland counties, they favored the Massanutten area. They named one village Strasburg for the Alsatian capital from which many had come. Such towns as New Market, Dayton, Harrisonburg, and Bridgewater had a strong Germanic flavor. In 1740, the Lutherans among these settlers built Hebron Church, their first, supporting a pastor as best they could. At nearby Upper Peaked Mountain Church, for example, members paid two shillings sixpence for each child the minister baptized, five shillings for confirmation, and similar sums for each burial and eucharist.

True to their founder's precept, Lutherans made their pastors teach as well as preach. To aid them, Martin Luther had written two catechisms setting forth his faith. He also enjoined that all adherents be instructed to read so that they could absorb the scriptures, which he believed to be the foundation of Christian faith. Old Heinrich Muhlenberg and his two sons, Peter and Frederick, were teachers as well as ministers.

As did the Moravians, Martin Luther and his followers emphasized music as a form of religious worship. Like Count Zinzendorf in the *Fratres Unitas*, Luther wrote many hymns which ultimately became familiar throughout Christendom. Such was

A mighty fortress is our God
  A bulwark never failing
Our helper He amid the flood
  Of mortal ills prevailing
For still our ancient foe
  Doth seek to work us woe
His craft and power are great,

And armed with cruel hate,
On earth is not his equal.[1]

Peter Muhlenberg came to the Valley of Virginia in 1771 through the efforts of James Wood, a far-sighted English settler. Wood first founded the town of Frederick as county seat of Frederick County in 1744, later renaming it Winchester for his native city in England. A few years later he established Woodstock about twenty miles further south on the Wagon Road, naming it for himself.

Under Virginia law, the Anglican Church was the established church of the colony. When a new county was established and new settlements made, houses of worship were built with taxes extracted from residents. To minister to the Germanic people settling around Woodstock in 1771, James Wood was concerned as clerk of Frederick County to find a minister who could preach to them in German. Learning that Pastor Heinrich Muhlenberg had a minister son serving Lutheran churches in New Jersey, Wood persuaded the Woodstock parish vestry to offer young Peter Muhlenberg the position.

Accordingly, James Wood wrote to him on May 4, 1771:

Rev. Sir:

I have been requested by the vestry of a vacant charge in Virginia to use my endeavours to find a person of unexceptionable character, either ordained or desirous of obtaining ordination in the Church of England, who is capable of preaching both in the English and the German languages. The Living as established by the Laws of the Land, with Perquisites, is of the value of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds, Pennsylvania currency, with a Parsonage House and a Farm of at least Two Hundred Acres of Extremely Good Land, with every other convenient Out House belonging to the same, which will render it very convenient for a Gentlemen's Seat.

And having just now received a Character and Information of you from Mr. John Vanorden of Brunswick, New Jersey, I am very inclinable to believe you would fully answer the expectations of the people of that Parish: the Gentleman of whom I have had information does not know whether You are ordained by the Bishop of London or not. However, be that as it will, if you can come well recommended to the Vestry they will recommend you in such a manner as to make your ordination certain.

If you should think those proposals worth your acceptance, I shall

be glad. You could write me an Answer, to be left Philadelphia at the Sign of the Cross Keys, where I shall stay a few days on my return home, when, if I find You inclined to accept of this Living, you may expect to hear from me . . .

I am, tho' unacquainted, Rev. Sir, Yr Obt Servt.

New York, 4th May, 1771 James Wood

P.S. If you should determine to go to London, I make no Doubt of the Vestry advancing sufficient sum to defray the expenses.[2]

Peter Muhlenberg, then twenty-five years old, accepted the offer. He went to London in 1772, and was ordained by the Bishop of London as a minister of the Church of England. Then, coming to Virginia, he presented himself to his new parishioners, who greeted him warmly.

Like his father, Peter was not only a forceful minister but an excellent organizer. He was soon busy ministering to the Anglican congregation at Woodstock and to Lutherans there and at Rude's Hill nearby.

The Valley folk found Peter sympathetic to their complaints against British rule. The minister was elected to the Frederick County Committee of Safety, created to mobilize local militia in case of war with England. In 1775, he was sent as a representative to the Virginia Convention in Williamsburg, where he was appointed a colonel in the Virginia militia and authorized to enlist a regiment to defend the Great Road, if war should come.

Unlike most of their fellow Germanic emigrants, the Lutherans were not pacifistic. By 1771, many had learned some English and had involved themselves in the business and politics of the frontier. Along the Great Road, German immigrants kept taverns, made wagons, smelted iron, tanned leather, and ground wheat and corn into flour and meal. Along with other Germans and Swiss, they had built numerous log cabins since they first arrived in the 1730s, fitting squared logs onto one another and filling the chinks with mud to keep out the cold.

When Peter Muhlenberg arrived in Woodstock, he found prosperous Germans living in Pennsylvania-type houses of fieldstone and hewn limestone. They built barns of wood, painting them dark red and decorating them with traditional hex signs to ward off evil. For escape from Indians, they dug stone-walled cellars, reached through trap doors when the alarm bell was rung.

Like the Germans of Pennsylvania and Maryland, Woodstock's parishioners lived well. They grew good crops, rotating their plantings and carefully fertilizing them with manure from the cow barn. By banding together to harvest crops, they made efficient use of their labor. Only Sunday was a day of rest.

As in Pennsylvania, a few skilled gunsmiths lived in the Valley and supplied their customers with the long barrels which the Indians feared. Henry Spitzer in New Market, Adam Haymaker in Winchester, the Sheetz family near Luray, and several others were producers of these *jaeger* rifles, which Virginians called "squirrel guns" or "Virginia rifles."

Henry Spitzer, who had come from Pennsylvania, produced a rifle each week at his home workshop, charging about £4 apiece. These he decorated with brasswork hex designs, inlaid into their wooden stocks, to give the hunter luck. Following the practice in Germany, the earliest Germanic rifles in America were of large caliber to kill bear or deer. However, the size was soon reduced for greater utility and lighter weight. Virginia and Kentucky rifles by the time of the Revolution were usually of .36 caliber. Each local militiaman was required to own such a rifle plus a bayonet or tomahawk for hand-to-hand fighting.

In the German Tract around Woodstock, travelers encountered the same Old World foods they had enjoyed at taverns around Lancaster, York, and Frederick. The *hausfrau* kept a spotless house and treasured the cuisine of the Rhine Valley and the Palatinate: yeast breads, sauerkraut, liverwurst, scrapple, pig's knuckles, apple butter, and other Teutonic specialties.

The Germanic houses of the region were simply provided with homemade furniture. Occasionally a treasured family chest or chair was brought with a family from Europe and then overland from Pennsylvania. A few Germans were proficient cabinetmakers, but most of these centered in Philadelphia. Homemade furniture was painted in bright Bavarian colors and decorated with stylized tulips, birds, and symbolic designs.

To record births and marriages, *fraktur* drawings were made by loving hands, embodying the names of children and parents and the important dates in their lives. These stylized pictures resembled medieval illuminated manuscripts and were decorated with figures of Adam and Eve, Moses, and other biblical figures.

To grind the wheat which abounded in the German settlements,

many mills were built by German pioneers. These were turned by the plunging torrents of narrow mountain streams which descended from the Blue Ridge and Massanutten Mountains to form the upper headwaters of rivers which flowed eastward to Chesapeake Bay.

Building a mill was a difficult process. To turn the heavy mill wheel—which resembled the paddle wheel of later river steamers—a heavy volume of water had to be forcefully channeled between retaining walls of rock. The resultant turning of the water wheel provided power to rotate the heavy stone mill wheels, which slowly ground the wheat or corn.

Some millers "bolted" their flour by sifting it through a sieve to remove the coarser fragments, known as bran. Bolted flour or meal was sold at a premium. For his service, the miller traditionally retained a specified percentage of the flour or meal which he ground. The usual "toll" was one-tenth.

The cutting of millstones was a specialized craft in the settlements. A hard porphyritic granite with a clean crystal face was needed in order to provide a sharp cutting surface.

To the mills around Woodstock farmers brought their crop of wheat or corn each fall. On the appointed day, the countryman unloaded his crop from his farm wagon and helped the miller feed it into the mill wheels. One hour was required to grind a bushel of corn. Some mills had a second set of coarse-surfaced millstones to grind the "chop" or chaff, from which a mash or coarse bran was made to feed cattle, poultry, and hogs after snow covered the ground.

As the millwheels turned, the miller carefully controlled the flow of grain. Now and again he felt the flour with fingers to be sure it was ground to the desired texture. Overheating of the milled grain was to be avoided, for this affected the flour's taste. "Water-ground" flour or meal—an assurance of quality—was cherished as the best to be had.

Music played a large part in the life of Peter Muhlenberg's parish, as it did in Lutheran and Moravian churches everywhere. For these people shared the rich musical heritage of the medieval German *minnesingers* as well as of the composers Johann Sebastian Bach, Dietrich Buxtehude, Heinrich Schutz, and countless anonymous hymnists of the Reformation. Martin Luther himself—Peter

Muhlenberg's great predecessor—spoke to these Germanic pioneers as perhaps no other voice spoke in these dangerous years:

> Did we in our own strength confide,
> Our striving would be losing
> Were not the right man on our side,
> The man of God's own choosing.
> Dost ask who that may be?
> Christ Jesus, it is he.
> Lord Sabaoth his Name,
> From age to age the same
> And He must win the battle.[3]

Close to the parish which Peter Muhlenberg served, riding through winter's snow or on many a moonless night to minister to the ill or comfort the bereaved, a pioneer school of Germanic religious music soon arose in the little village of Singer's Glen. And nearby, at New Market, a German printer named Solomon Henkel set up the first printing press in the Valley of Virginia to produce Lutheran religious tracts and hymnals of Germanic music.

During the life of the Great Wagon Road, the Henkel press published more Lutheran theological works in English than any other publisher in the world.

By the year 1776, the peaceful Valley into which Pastor Muhlenberg had come was visibly stirred by the alarms of war. In Philadelphia, the Continental Congress on July 4 of that year declared the thirteen colonies independent of Great Britain and prepared to go to war. In New York City, Peter Muhlenberg's younger brother resigned his pastorate of Christ Lutheran Church and hurried to Pennsylvania to join forces with the American patriots. The cry of "Liberty or death!" inflamed all America.

Not long after independence had been declared, Peter Muhlenberg made his fateful choice. At the end of one Sunday-morning worship service at his Woodstock church, the tall preacher cast off his black clerical gown as he stood in the pulpit of Beckford Parish Church. Beneath it he wore the uniform of the Virginia militia.

"I am a clergyman, it is true," he told his surprised congregation. "But I am a member of society, as well as the poorest layman. My liberty is as dear to me as any man.

"Shall I, then, sit still and enjoy myself at home when the best blood of the continent is spilling? Heaven forbid it!"

With that, Peter Muhlenberg handed his resignation to the parish vestry and went to war as a brigadier general of Virginia's forces.

He served well and in many sectors, culminating in a series of battles which ended in the great victory at Yorktown in 1781. When the war ended in 1783 the towering soldier had risen to the rank of brevet major general. Returning to Pennsylvania, he was elected three times to the House of Representatives of the young United States of America.

Peter Muhlenberg was one of the few Germanic emigrants along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road who played so conspicuous a part in the Revolution. Many others served as soldiers of the line or drove army wagons to carry ammunition and provisions for the troops.

Yet they all made a contribution to the growing ethnic amalgam called America. They wove into the fabric of a new nation a mutual tolerance, a belief in religious freedom, and a devotion to a system of government which protected them against kings or feudal landlords.

The idealism of Martin Luther became an inseparable quality of America.

> And though this world, with devils filled
> Should threaten to undo us;
> We will not fear, for God hath willed
> His truth to triumph through us;
> The prince of darkness grim
> We tremble not for him;
> His rage we can endure,
> For lo! his doom is sure.
> One little word shall fell him.[4]

In the Cabins along the Road

The frontiersman was a familiar character in American life from the time of Jamestown until the West was subdued in the 1849 Gold Rush. He existed in a particularly vigorous form along the eighteenth-century Appalachian frontier, when the great westward expansion of the seacoast colonies got under way.

The uplands attracted fugitives from the law, and they gave it a reputation for lawlessness which stuck with it. The hillbillies of the twentieth century, living in crude mountain cabins and making corn whiskey beyond the reach of the "revenooers," were offshoots of earlier fugitives from the more effete coastal settlements.

Some of these were descendants of English felons, transported to the colonies to clean out England's jails. (Jefferson wrote that "2,000 felons came to Virginia from the earliest settlement until 1787 . . .") Some were indentured servants who fled their masters, or Negro slaves who had fled west to freedom. Others were reputed to be Hessian soldiers who served as mercenaries for the British in the Revolution and stayed on in the new Land of Opportunity.

Many South Carolina hill-dwellers were English debtors, who had been encouraged by Governor Oglethorpe after 1733 to find a new life in the young Georgia colony. However, when they were faced with military service to avert threatened Spanish attack from Florida, many of these made their way to the South Carolina upcountry, where they became "poor whites."

Here and there along the Wagon Road, colonies of intermixed whites and Indians took root. Near Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia, a hybrid group called "the brown people" clustered on the hillsides. In Amherst County, Virginia, a similar group called "the issues" lived. Nearby were other self-contained colonies called "melungeons" and others called "ramps." Similar mixed-breed groups were found along the Carolina and Georgia frontier.

"The frontier draws both the very best and the very worst," it was said, and this was true. An English traveler, Nicholas Cresswell, who visited upland Virginia before the Revolution, reported "nothing but whores and rogues in this country." Isaac Zane, Jr., a

leading Quaker of early Winchester, Virginia, openly kept a mistress. Along the Appalachian frontier, where men outnumbered women five to one, illegitimacy was commonplace.

Others complained of the shrewd business practices of frontier dwellers. One such critic was Charles Lee, an English-born professional soldier who served as a general under George Washington in the Revolution and retired to upland Virginia to spend his last years. "We in Virginia live (if it can be called living)," he wrote, "neither under Monarchy, Aristocracy, nor Democracy—if it deserved any name it is a Macocracy, that is, a Banditti of Scotch-Irish Servants or their immediate descendants (whose names generally begin with Mac) are our Lords and Rulers." Lee specified in his will that he not be buried "within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting house; for since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living that I do not chuse to continue it when dead."

But the frontiersmen had their admirers, too. G. P. R. James wrote glowingly of Valley of Virginia settlers:

> A valley farmer is a noble specimen of the yeoman. He has little Latin and less Greek, having derived his education in an "old field school-house," from a stern Scotch school master. . . . The Valley farmer is shrewd, sensible and refined, with just views of human affairs, generous to others, but frugal to himself; industrious and attentive to business, but full of fun in his hours of leisure; a Democrat in politics, a Presbyterian in religion, and a colonel in the militia.[1]

The earliest Appalachian settler, the hunter or fur-buyer, lived in a tent or log lean-to. He slept on a bed of dried leaves or rushes, close to the embers of his campfire. Leaving some Wagon Road village in the fall, after the leaves had fallen and the rattlesnakes had disappeared, he walked or rode his horse along the notched hunters' trail. Underfoot was the summer's undergrowth, killed by frost. His deerskin hunting shirt was fringed with bright cording, worn over breeches and leggings. A cap of beaver or otter kept off the rain, and Indian moccasins protected his feet.

The belt at his waist held his hatchet, and a sling over his shoulder held his sheath knife and his shot pouch or powder horn. Rolled in the pack on his back were an extra shirt, a blanket, flints, and a few standbys: brandy for medicine and disinfectant, salt to cure hides, and jerked beef or pemmican.

"W-a-a-l-l-l now," one bearded Long Hunter was heard to exclaim to the stars as the brandy warmed his entrails, "ef I just had the ol' woman and babbies here, I should be fixed for fair."

Such sharpshooters made up the county militia who protected the frontier in the French and Indian Wars and the Revolution. "Colonels" and "captains" abounded. Wrote a frontier visitor who signed himself Porte Crayon, "There is not a tavern-keeper or stage-owner in all western Virginia, or a great wood chopper, who has not some military title. And anyone who kills a rattlesnake is made a major on the spot."

The lowlanders who first reached the uplands built in rustic American style: walls of adzed timbers or of woven rushes, or wattle covered with heavy mud or daub. The early houses were small, usually about sixteen by twenty feet. Roofs were covered with wide boards, chinked with clay or covered with skins. Swedes who had settled along the Delaware River beginning in 1638 first built the log huts which became the favorite abode of the frontiersman. Its stout walls, pierced with small gunports, offered better protection against Indians.

Seventy to eighty trees were felled to build a log house. Working steadily, a half-dozen men could erect one in a week or two.

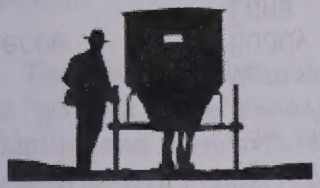
The advantage of the Delaware log house was that it could be built with no tools except an axe and an adze. The log walls, built over an earth flooring, were chinked with clay against the wind. The few small window openings were covered with greased paper which admitted a little light. For lack of metal fittings, shutters and doors swung on wooden pegs.

Roofs were often shingled with white oak or chestnut shingles, painstakingly rived, one by one, with mallet and froe.

To "chink" against bad weather, moss and mud were stuffed into the cracks. Slabs of rough-sawn wood made the floor, and a ladder led up to an unventilated sleeping room. Mattresses were cotton bed ticking, stuffed with chaff, pine needles, or moss.

Metals for houses and wagons was rare in Wagon Road country until the Germans came through, bringing skillful blacksmiths and ironworkers. Iron in bars, rods, and sheets was brought by wagon from ironworks in eastern towns. Because of iron's rarity and expense, builders learned to work without nails or screws. Houses were framed and joined with mortises, tenons, and pegs. Masonry foundations and chimneys were mortared with clay. Metal was

Brethren Life



Have you ever wished that you could go back in time and experience life in a typical Brethren farming community? When life was at a much slower pace, without the vibration of noisy over crowded highways, and the word filth referred to something in a barnyard. Here is at least one opportunity to discover what simple family life was like during the 1840-1850's, in and around the small farming community of Boston, Indiana. For some this will be a chance to discover former ways of more simple living and for others it will be a refreshing trip down memory lane, because of stories that grandparents used to tell. Brethren church historian ✉ has graciously permitted several chapters of his book, "Four Mile Community" to be place online, so that people in the modern world may discover what life was like in a more simple time, when people knew almost everyone in town. It was truly a time of sheltered existence for many, a time for cultivating a rich heritage of family experiences when the outside world - *was still the outside world.*

Brethren Migrations

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Roads Used By The Brethren For Migration

I consider three things to have the greatest effect on people and events of history. There is the struggle for power: which results in wars or various types of struggle and conflicts; there are economics: depressions or hard times, good times and peaceful living, and the attendant results; there is movement and transportation: ease or difficulty of movement, including travel and commerce. There are other things that effect people and history (famines, severe weather or climatic changes, natural disasters of various kinds, and epidemics), but even most of these end with some result in the above three. Early America used the rivers and waterways for much of its travel and transportation. Roads were worse than poor. Even Benjamin Franklin in his "Poor Richards Almanac" complained about the pot holes and hog wallows in Philadelphia. No road beyond the cities, was more than a pair of worn tracks through open land, usually with grass growing up in the center. The traveler was lucky if it was smooth, bad weather from storms or the thawing of spring would leave deep ruts, which dried into shaking and jaring of the steel-rimmed

	Clarence		200
	Delta		216
	Don		200
	Eldon		200
	Everett		200
	Georgia		202
	Gerald		200
	James		202
	Jerry		200
	Lawrence		200
	Phyllis		111
	Renae		200
Fair	Charles		52
Fairleigh	Bertha		77
Fankboner	George	Morris	73
	John H.		73
Fansler	Cecil	"Jake"	7,477
	Frank		77
	Irene		96
	Richard		74
Faraone	Betty	(Hunt)	59
			59
	Leonard		59
Farmer	Benny		142
	Bernadine		103
	Charles E.	"Pete"	142
	Glen		103
	Harold		147
	Helen	Bernice	27
	Herman		147
	Jerry		142
	Margaret		202
	Mary Jo		142
	Opal	Sarah	142
	Otis		89
	Peggy		139
	Roy C.		89
	Sarah		208
Farris	Blanche		40
	Lawrence		36
	Lawrence G.		113
	Velmaline		25
	Venie		122
Fatheree	Buddy		23
	Edna	Mae	76
	Marty		23
	Paula		23
	William	Henry	23
Faulkner	Berlyn E., Rev.		7
	Fred E.		7
	Philip E.		7
Fearn	C. Guy		6
			189
	Joe		6
	Joseph G.		189

wagon. The roads of necessity wound around the huge forest trees, and the roots of such would lay huge bumps across the road. Trees were cut, to open the road, and the stumps left standing in the road. Ravines, gulleys, streams and rivers meant a descent to the bottom, and a climb out on the far bank, if not worse. But America still moved west.

Land travel was slow, seldom over 10 miles a day, often half that. It was considered that the children would easily keep up, walking nearby, and in the process find much to keep themselves entertained. (Nowhere like todays problems taking children in a long automobile trip.) The team of horses might travel a little faster, but long distance was with the ox team, which traveled even slower than a walk, but could keep going, with less food, long after the horses would quit. The normal trip took days and often months.

There was considerable travel and communication among kin in distant communities. People who had to "go back home" for any reason, hand carried messages from all the neighbors, to their different families and friends. A "letter" from home was normal - at least once or twice a year, even though home was in eastern Pennsylvania, and the family might live in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois or even Iowa. A "letter" normally consisted of a single sheet of paper, written on both sides, except for that part which, after folding, would carry the address, like an envelope. Paper was not cheap or readily available, and the "letter" still existant is oftimes very interesting.

These roads I have personally traveled, some of them in one solid stretch, and on occasion, missing some sections.

Bullskin Road

he first State Road in Ohio, 1807, the Xenia State Road was the official recognition by the new State of Ohio of the old Shawnee Indian Road from British Fort Detroit to Bullskin Landing on the Ohio River, through the major Shawnee center, Old Chillicothe (Oldtown, at Xenia). It was long called the Old Xenia Road. It was down this road in 1778, that Daniel Boone ran the gauntlet at Old Chillicothe, and didn't stop running - clear to the Ohio River, outrunning the pursuing Shawnees. Down this road had come raiding armies of British Regulars and Indian allies as they attempted to destroy the Kentucky settlements. Up this road had gone the Kentucky militia when they attacked the Indians at Springfield in retaliation. In these new lands on the Northwest frontier, the Bullskin Road was a major thoroughfare.

Bullskin Creek is flooded by the Ohio River for half a mile back from the River, a wide valley opening. It was the first major landing for Ohio River flatboats above Fort Washington (Cincinnati). Here the flatboat was protected, off the river, with easy unloading facilities. This settlement in Clermont County is called Utopia. The Brethren settled on the Bullskin about 1800. (Miller, Moyer, Metzgar, Rohrer, Hoover, Houser; the old Olive Branch Church. It converted en-mass to Church of Christ in the New Light Revival of 1830's.) Being farmers, they lived mostly on the level lands above the high riverbank hills, at the head of Bullskin Creek.

The Road went north through Felicity and Bethel, now Ohio 133, and crossed the East Fork of the Little Miami at Williamsburg. It crossed Stonelick Creek at Edenton (just 2 miles from the Stonelick Church). A stone marker at the east edge of Edenton is on the old Road as it goes cross-country to Clarksburg. A line of old trees shows part of the route. From Clarksburg it followed old Ohio 380 to Xenia, going through New Burlington, now submerged below the lake at Caesar's Creek State Park. It

	Timothy		24
	Velma		46
	Virgil		134
	Virginia		120
Elter	Eldon		26
	Leona		26
	Nancy		26
	Pat		26
	Susan		26
Emerson	Alice		144
	Alma		144
	Edwin	"Ted"	144
Emrich	Ollie		94
Engelhart	Ray, Fr.		117,191,195,202
England	Donald		155
	Phyllis		155
Engle	Dennis		112
	Susan		112
Englebright	Charles	Frederick	197
			150
	Clyda	Esther	29
	David		150
	Karen		150
	Lucille		197
	Raymond	Jacob	29
Englehart	Ray, FR.		2,745
Enlow	Jennie		59
	Kathleen		81
Enright	Doris		202
Ensrud	Jackie		59
	Rick		59
Eriksson	Kjell		210
	Weslie	Rae	210
Esmon	Jean		210
Estwing	Chris		116
	Jill		116
Eswine	Luke		35
	Marie		35
Etheridge	Barbara		145
	Philip		111
Evans	Barbara		149,213
	Bill		15
	Dan		149
Everhart	Teresa		28
Ewald	Alexander W.	"Bud"	120
	Dan		120
	Erma		120
	James		120
	John		120
	Margie		120
	Richard		120
Ewing	Aaron		135
	Aleah		202
	Alvin		200
	Angie		200

was called the Bullskin Road.

From Xenia north to Detroit, it is U.S. 68, the Detroit Road. It goes to Yellow Spring, where it leaves the Little Miami. Then to Springfield, where it follows the Mad River of the Great Miami to Urbana. Other cities on the Road are Bellefontaine, Kenton, Findlay, Bowling Green, Toledo. From Cygnet, north of Findlay, it becomes Ohio 25 and from Toledo to Detroit it is U.S. 24.

Earliest records show another old Indian path, that connected to the Bullskin Road (Ohio 133), just north of Williamsburg (on Ohio 276). Just before Owensville it turned north to the Ford on the Great Miami River, Franklin Ohio, then headed north along the Great Miami and Stillwater rivers, where many of the early Brethren settled on the west side of Dayton.

The earliest Brethren settlement in Ohio was in Clermont County, the Obannon Church, near Goshen (1795). The Olive Branch Church near Bullskin Landing soon followed (1800). But this was heavy clay soil, and many decided to move north to the good farmland on the Great Miami River.

Frederick Weaver (in whose home the Obannon Church first met), Gabriel Kerns, and David and Daniel Miller lived in the western part of the Obannon Church area, near Manila Road, which goes southeast from Goshen. Just above Gabriel Kerns' farm is Linton Road, which was the OLD route before Manila road was built, going through Goshen past the Cemetery, meeting the Murdoch/Lebanon Road above town. It now stops at the Cemetery.

The Road went north from Goshen to those families of the Obannon Church (the Millers at Murdock and Bowmans unknown) who lived in Warren County. At Murdock it went on north to Lebanon (Ohio 48). Then an angling Indian path was followed (Ohio 123) to the ford over the Great Miami at Franklin. This put them on the west side of the River, where Elder Jacob Miller lived on Bear Creek (1800).

The exact route north, on the west side of the Great Miami, is not known. There are a couple of early references (1830's) to an old River Road on the banks of the Great Miami. Probabilities are that it followed the Soldier's Home Road along the River and then went nearly strait north on the Gettysburg Road to the Wolf Creek Road, the Salem Road and the Covington Road (Stillwater River).

The John Aukerman family likely used this road to the Great Miami River Ford, then followed what became the extension of the Kanawha Trace, along the Twin Creek, into Preble County, Ohio. The John Bowman family likely used this route for their migration from the Obannon to Montgomery County, about 1800. David Miller left about 1802, and already others of the Obannon Brethren had moved north. These families seem to have been displaced from their Hamilton County homesteads (now Clermont and Warren) when the government gave these lands to the Virginia Military District and Ohio land grants were given as bounties to Revolutionary Veterans in lieu of their pay. Local settlers, like the Aukermans and Bowmans, could not purchase their homesteads and had to move.

Most of the earliest Brethren settlers to Ohio seem to have stopped among the Brethren already at Obannon / Stonelick, before they found lands north (the Land Office was in Cincinnati, a days walk away), then followed one or the other of the Indian Roads north. Many Brethren moved up the Bullskin Trace to the east side of Dayton, to Green and Clark Counties, Ohio, to the old Beaver Creek and Donnels Creek Church areas. Other Brethren crossed the ford on the Great Miami, and settled in the fertile lands west of the River, the Lower Miami Church, the Bear Creek Church, the Stillwater Church.

Edmison	Ruby	144
Edwards	Allen	136
	Barbara	208
	Kathy	216
	Kenneth, Jr.	208
	Len	136
	Mary Lee	216
	Steve	38
	William H.	136
Eggon	Vanessa	163
Ehresman	Keith, Rev.	190
Ehrett	Lillian	85
		192
Eiken	Pam	170
	Steve	170
Elder	Darren, Rev.	175
Elifritz	Ida Mae	99
Elliott	Bonnie	122
	Denise	188
	Dorothy	74
	Emma	137
	Flossie	22
	Floyd	108
	Genevieve	180
	Glen	100
	Lula	32
	Rosalie	119
	Sheila	100
	Virginia	108
Ellis	Betty	24
	Bob, Jr.	24
	Catherine	145
	Chal	2
	Clyde	30
	Deloris	30
	Edith	144
	Edward C.	2
	Estil L.	145
	Fred	134
	Jessie	130,133
	Lowell	145
	Lowery	24
	Lu	24
	Lucretia	134
	Maurine	164
	Merle	12
	Nettie	54
	Ray	12
	Robert, Sr.	24
	Sharlyn	24
	Shelby	165
	Sterling C.B.	145
		145
	Sybil	125,132
	Thomas F.	24

Zane Trace

benezer Zane lived at Fort Henry (now Wheeling, West Virginia). It was on the Virginia side of the Ohio River several days below Pittsburgh. He and his brothers were frontiersmen and fairly well known Indian Scouts. The government asked him to run a road to Limestone, in Kentucky, where there was a River landing and a trace going south to Blue Lick and Lexington. They had given him property rights at his choice in several of the best locations as payment. He had been all through those lands in Ohio Territory, and already had his route chosen. It would go almost due west until it came to the Muskingum River. He had even chosen a name for that location - Zanesville. Then the Trace would angle southwest until it crossed the Hocking River. That would be later named Lancaster. It would continue on more to the south till it came to the old Shawnee Indian village at Chillicothe on the Scioto River. The trace would go west from Chillicothe, along the Paint Creek, until a wide valley cut south to Ohio Brush Creek. There it would follow close to the Brush Creek due south, until finally it would head southwest through the valleys toward the Ohio River across from Limestone, or Maysville, as some people were beginning to call this river landing.

The route had its scenic spots, between Lancaster and Chillicothe was one of those Indian Mounds that had an unusual shape; it wasn't so high off the ground, but it looked like a large cross. Then there at Chillicothe, there must be a few hundred of different sizes of mounds of dirt, all grassed over in the trees, a city of them that someone called Mound City. They said people were buried in them, that it was an ancient Indian Village. Then all along the south side of Paint Creek, on top of the high ridges along it, were what looked like dirt forts, they had dug a ditch all around the top of the different hills, and piled the bank of dirt outside the ditch, just like a fort. And just before you got to the valley going down from Paint Creek to Ohio Brush Creek, right beside the creek, there was this huge mound of dirt, maybe twenty feet high, and not that much larger at the base - Seips Mound. Just as you got to Ohio Brush Creek, where you went through the pass, there was this largest of all of the dirt forts up on the high hill west of the pass, Fort Hill; and after you got through the pass, on the almost level open field below the hill, there was one of those huge circle mounds with the opening facing east toward the sun. Farther along Brush Creek, on a high bank on the east side, where the creek circled around it, there was this long wiggly snakelike mound, with a mouth and a ball like thing in its mouth, all of it made of dirt. It looked like a real Serpent Mound. Someone said that ancient Indians had lived here and built towns, more like white men, but that it was so long ago that even the native Indians didn't have any legends about it.

This was the Zane Trace. It was the first trace or white man's path in Ohio. It went west along what is now U.S. 40. Ebenezer Zane did start the town of Zanesville as a trading post. And the famous "Y" bridge in Zanesville is where the Zane Trace separated from the later Old National Road, right there in the middle of the bridge in the middle of where the Licking and Muskingum Rivers come together. The Trace leaves Zanesville on U.S. 22. A few miles out of Zanesville is the little town of White Cottage and the White Cottage Church of the Brethren, located right on the old trace. At Lancaster the trace headed more southernly on Ohio 159 to Chillicothe. Just outside Chillicothe, to the Northeast, there seems to have been an early Brethren settlement, and west of Chillicothe are a couple more Brethren communities. The trace went west along Paint Creek on U.S. 50 to Bainbridge, where Ohio 41 follows the Trace down past Fort Hill State Park, past Strait Creek Church of the Brethren and Woodland Altars Camp. (About 3 miles west at Locust Grove on Ohio 73 is the Serpent Mound State Park, nationally famous.) The Trace follows Ohio 41 on through Peebles (Marble Furnace Church of the Brethren is just west of town), to West Union and on to Aberdeen, across the Ohio River from Maysville. On top of the Hills on the River at Maysville, is the old town of Limestone.

Driggers	Butch		100
Drissel	Bertha		45
Drury	James, Elder		135
Duckworth	Alex H.		124
	Darla		16
			186
	George		124
	Lowell		16
			186
	Rufus		124
Duffy	Dennis		140
	Sandra		140
DuFrain	Nancy		51
Dugger	Joann		75
Duke	Glenda		140
Dulaney	Dorothy		58
Dunbar	Katheryn		7
Duncan	Sarah	Ruby	39
Dunlap	Christina R.		56
	Don		196
	Jackie	Lynn	196
	John	Moore	80
	Steward		80
	Teddy J.		56
Dunn	George K.		167
	Helen	Louise	167
	Leona		17
	Mary	Brooks	152
	Sue		167
	Thomas	Tinsley	152
Dutton	Stella		28
Duvall	Fannie		216
Dyche	Nora		46
Dye	Jerry		8
	Max		8
Earl	Juanita		30
Earle	Hazel		209
Easley	Joseph, Rev.		22
Eastep	Jim		56
	Jo Ellen		56
	Lucina		56
	Tresah		110
Eaton	Linda		29
	Mary E.		24
Eaves	Jean		47
Eblin	Dorothy	Irene	144
	Othella		90
Eckelberry	Debbie		23
	Gary		23
	Gene		109
Eckleberry	Flossie		159
	Fred		64
	Velma		64
Eddings	David		71
	Lee		71

Not many of the Brethren used the Zane Trace, except where it and the Kanawha Trace ran together going west from Chillicothe, and the Countryman family settlers coming up from Massie's Station on the Ohio River at Three Islands.

Originally the River

ost of the original migration of the Brethren settlers moving west was on the Ohio River. The Brethren from Eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Northern Virginia started on the old Braddock's Army Road from Cumberland Maryland, or Forbe's Road from Bedford County, Pennsylvania, going to the Forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. Many went to Elder George Wolfe at Redstone, on the Monongahela River, where he built flatboats, good flatboats, that would take them safely down the river. The Redstone Settlement was just up the road from old Fort Necessity where our first President, George Washington, had saved soldiers and Brethren teamsters when General Braddock was killed.

From Southern Virginia and the Yadkin in North Carolina, most of the Brethren followed the Kanawha Trace, the old Shawnee Indian War Path, down the New River to below the Falls of the Kanawha River where the Gauley River entered and the New / Kanawha became a safe river to travel. There they built their flatboats and floated down the Kanawha, down the Ohio to the new lands west.

What is a flatboat? It is whatever they could put together. Some were big and strong and might even carry several families. Some barely held together, or were small. Even if it was his best it might prove not adequate for the trip ahead. It was a flat bottom boat, mostly rectangular in shape, with high sides and possibly a flat roofed cabin toward the back. A sweep formed the rudder to the rear and one of the men travelled on the roof and used the sweep to guide the flatboat as it traveled down the rivers. The flatboat carried the horses and wagons, all the family's goods, as it traveled to the new lands to the west.

Maybe it was easier to travel down the river than to go on land, but it was not safe. There were dead-heads: fallen trees, tops gone, hung up in the river totally underwater, but the end pointing upstream would sometimes be raised by the current, till it would breach the surface and punch a hole in the coming flatboat. In low water there were rocks and even rapids in the river which had to be navigated correctly. There were the falls at Louisville, where the river drops 24 feet in 4 miles, most settlers stopped there. Many stopped at Maysville on the Kentucky shore, some stopped at Cincinnati in Ohio Territory. Some hardy travelers ran the Falls in their flatboats, and continued downstream to the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, some went on to Illinois and Missouri. And always there were the Indians.

The migration of the white man was invasion of Indian country. White man drove off the game animals. He destroyed the forest. He destroyed the Indian customs and life. He claimed a small section of the land, of the forest, for himself. He killed the trees and opened it to bare land. The Indian knew that the land belonged to all people and was shared. No man had the right to destroy it. So from the start, each struggled to protect his own way of life. The flatboat had to tie up to the shore at night, it was too dangerous to travel in the dark, and the family liked to stretch its legs after the tiring day. A cooked meal tasted good, and fresh meat added to family provisions. The Indian was watching the passing flatboat, they could attack it where it stopped. A captive might be used to lure the boat close for attack and capture. An arrow might fall from the forest cover to stick in the wood or even injure or kill man or animal. Sometimes there would be a sneak attack with warriors suddenly coming over the sides of the boat, especially if it were too near the shore. There was Three Islands (Manchester, Ohio), where the

Dill	Etta		70
Dillingham	Barbara		137
	Don		137
Dinges	Magdalena		4
Dixon	Bobby		148
	Ethel		186
	Frank		148
Doerner	Kathy		2
Doggett	Virginia		184
Dolan	Clare	Irene	182
	Hugh J.		182
Doran	Ouida	Mae	197
Doss	Linda		142
	Paul		142
Doty	Anita		101
	Betty		194
	Edna		75
	Lea		153,156
	Sally		115
Dove	Doris		77
	Joe		204
	Keith		77
	Keith W.		204
	Kenneth		77
	Robert E.		77
	Sharon		204
Dowdy	Shirley		139
Downard	Lanny		180
	Ray, Bro.		177,180
	Roger		180
	Ruth		177,180
Downen	Cora		91
Downer	Judy		33
	Sherry		131
Downes	Gerald		53
	Gerald V.		53
	LeRoy		53
	Rufus V.		53
	Virgil R.		53
Dozier	John		124
	Wave		124
Drake	Nellie		105
Draper	Amos		133
	Amy		133
	Carroll		133
	Craig		133
	Curt		133
	Howard		35
	Kim		133
	Levi		133
	Michael		133
	Ruth	Ann	35
	Sam		133
Dressen	Norma		154
Drew	Ethel		62

river narrowed as it passed between the islands, the Indians often caught the men working the sweeps too hard, intent on the passage between the islands, to watch for attacking Indians. These were hazards of the trip, known, faced and normally avoided or overcome. Some died, many arrived at Limestone, and Bullskin Landing, at Cincinnati and the Falls.

Brethren settlements were made where good lands were found. There were no good farmlands above the hills on the Ohio, not till you came to the Great Sandy River in Kentucky. Just below that was Limestone (now Maysville, Kentucky), where the trace went south to Blue Lick Springs and the Brethren Settlements on the Kentucky River, and Zane's Trace came down from up at Fort Henry (Wheeling). The lands were rough, not suitable for farming on the Ohio side, even across from Limestone, good land could only be found far up Zane's Trace, up near John Countryman's settlement. At Bullskin Landing, Bullskin Creek made a deep sheltered cove up into the hills along the River. The Indians used it, to store their canoes, for crossing to the Kaintuck shore. It was used so frequenty, that a major Indian Road went from the Bullskin to Old Chillicothe (near Xenia, Ohio) and on from there clear to the British Fort Detroit. This became a common goal for the Brethren migrant, since here, for the first time, was found good farmland within reasonable distance from the river, and Brethren congregations were soon found here.

Cincinnati was between the Little Miami River and the Great Miami River, both coming from far inland in Ohio Territory. Early settlements grew up on both rivers, and the Brethren quickly came. Across the river was the mouth of the Licking River which went down into settled areas of Kaintuck. Brethren were found there, but no churches are known. Downstream from Cincinnati, the Kentucky River comes in from the south near Madison, Indiana. The Brethren had settled upstream on it, where there was good farmland. Soon, Brethren were across the river, the first Brethren Church in Indiana Territory.

At the Falls, the Brethren found good farmland back from the river, Elk Creek and the branches of the Salt River. So many migrants stopped because of the Falls on the Ohio, a healthy church grew up here, and some moved across the river westward into Indiana Territory, to the Blue and Patoka River valleys.

Some later Brethren moved up the Wabash River to a Brethren settlement in the Ladoga congregation of western Indiana, but early migration went south up the Green River to the Rhodes Settlement in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky and on up the Barren River to the Dutch Settlement near Bowling Green, Kentucky. Famous here is Elder George Wolfe, son of the Flatboat Builder at Redstone Pennsylvania, and Elder John Hendricks of the Yadkin in North Carolina. These two early led settlement of the Brethren into Illinois and Missouri, the Far Western Brethren.

Most of the Brethren migration by flatboat ended with the opening of the Old National Road across Ohio, then across Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis, Missouri, by 1837. It had lasted about 50 years.

The Kanawha Trace

Mr. Argus Ogborn was a Quaker historian in Richmond, Indiana. He gave me a copy of his copy of the Bill of the Road, which he had found in a collection (unspecified) some years ago. He saw it for what it was, the mile by mile progress a Quaker settler would walk with team and wagon to travel to Richmond, but I recognized many of the named places in the Way Bill from travel, residency and research in these regions. From this I drew up and gave him a map tracing the path of the Trace. In researching families on this trace for my book on

the Four Mile Church, I recognized that the Brethren used this as a major path from Virginia to Ohio. I had frequently asked myself a question about the route of the Dunkers in Virginia to Ohio and the West, since I had early found that most of them did not use Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road. (The Flat Creek Mission, Church of the Brethren, is right on the Old Warriors Path - Goose Creek, mouth of Mudlick, near Manchester, Kentucky, my parents lived there at the mission, Mudlick Station, head of Mudlick. I occasionally visited there, and I followed the path and story of Daniel Boone and the early Dunkers in the Kaintuck lands.) Only a few of the Carolina Brethren who followed the Wilderness Road into Kentucky, came up into Ohio. I've followed Forbes' Road and Braddock's Road in Pennsylvania, when I pastored at Beaver Dam (Maryland) and with my brother, who still pastors in Western Pennsylvania. Maryland and Pennsylvania Brethren, including some in the upper part of the Valley, would have used those routes and come down the Ohio on flatboats. But many early Dunkers lived much farther south in the Valley, and there was a major early settlement of the Brethren below Roanoke, on the front of the Blue Ridge in Franklin and Floyd Counties, the old Carolina Road, (Elder Jacob Miller families and neighbors) who came from there to western Ohio. The Kanawha Trace was their route. Virginia Dunker Family names are found along it.

The Kanawha Trace Bill of the Road, or Waybill, begins in the north central part of North Carolina where the Moravian Brethren, Friends (or Quakers) and German Baptist Brethren (Dunkers, Church of the Brethren) had major settlements. Early Dunker Churches were along the Yadkin River starting in Wilkes County, going east to Winston Salem, then south through Salisbury, this was the area from which Daniel Boone came.

The Waybill that we have, begins at New Garden Friends Church on the Northwest side of Greensboro, near Guilliford Battlefield. Clemmons was likely at Guilford, a small town on North Carolina 66. By distance, Beesons would be the town of Colfax; and Kernersville, east of Winston Salem, is Kerners. Continuing on North Carolina 66 to U.S. 52, Bittings would likely be at Stanleyville or Rural Hall, Gordings would be at Pilot Mountain, and Unthanks at Mount Airy. Following the route of U.S. 52 into Virginia, Perkins would be at Cana Virginia and Mankins at Ward's Gap might be the modern Fancy Gap on U.S. 52 at the Blue Ridge Parkway. Going west the Trace went to Road's Fork at modern Hillsville on top of the ridge, where U.S. 52 and Virginia 100 each continue their own route down into the New River Valley. The Trace followed Virginia 100 down Little Reed Island Creek through Popular Camp Mountain. It crosses Reed Island River at Patterson and then the New River (Fugat's Ferry, now a bridge). Virginia 100 does not cross Draper's Mountain to Pulaski, and John Feeley's would be at McAdam or possibly Draper. Crossing Walker Mountain, Virginia 100 comes to Poplar Hill, which would be Shannon's and comes back to the New River, which has taken a big loop, at Pearisburg, old Giles Court House, and U.S. 460. Peter's Ferry could be located at Narrows, where they could recross the New River. (It must be remembered that in these early days, the lack of bridges in the frontier areas meant that obstacles that we now ignor drastically effected travel patterns. A Traveler sometimes went longer, or worse, routes, because there was no way they could cross a River. This is true of the routes here, and across West Virginia.)

Remember, also, that in those days Virginia went clear to the Ohio River. Across West Virginia, the Kanawha Trace, by tradition, followed the Shawnee Indian War Path close to the New or Kanawha River. Peterstown is just in West Virginia at U.S. 219 and West Virginia 12. Christian Peter's home would have been out of Peterstown on West Virginia 12. There Bozoo Road goes left and down into the old river bottom, a shorter route than West Virginia 12. Bluestone Lake floods this area, but the Indian River enters the New below Indian Mills, coming down the valley from the Northeast. The Blue Stone River comes up the valley from the Southwest about 15 miles down stream and Pack's ferry would have been out in the lake, between them (before Wolf Creek Mountain). Unless there was a bottom land route (now flooded), the mountains push in close to the New River and the Trace would have followed a trail

up to Pipe Stem, and followed the Pipestem Creek down to the Blue Stone River crossing. Following up another trail out of the Blue Stone, Pack's could possibly be at Nimitz and Jumping Branch, where another old road (West Virginia 3) goes to Shady Spring. There modern U.S. 19 shows sections of an old road near it. U.S. 19 goes to Beckley, Mount Hope and Glen Jean (with Harvey just beyond) and on to Fayetteville on the downriver side of the New River Gorge. This is possibly "Road's Fork", where the Trace did not try to recross the New River, but took West Virginia 16, to Beckwith where it took the very rugged Falls Creek Road over Cotton Hill. The creek and trail come out at the Falls of the New River, now Kanawha Falls (where the Kanawha River Dam now is). The Gauley River enters the New River at Gauley Bridge above the Dam, and the River changed, it is larger, and has a more constant flow. The valley widens. It is now called the Kanawha. Here below the falls, early settlers built flat boats and floated down the River to Point Pleasant, then down the Ohio to Kaintuck or Cincinnati.

The Trace followed a country road along the south bank of the Kanawha River. It is pressed closely by high rugged mountains, the only level areas are where mountain streams enter the river. A couple of these have become towns, Deep Water, Eagle. Benjamin Morris probably lived where Montgomery is, where West Virginia 61 comes down off the mountain. There is a better roadway, and towns of Crown Hill and Cabin Creek. At Chelyan the West Virginia Turnpike and U.S. 119 come down to the River. Leonard Morris had a fortified log house ("fort") at Marmet, on the south side of the River just above Charleston, where the Toney's and others fled during the Indian raids of 1794. Venables would have been in the eastern area of South Charleston called Kanawha City, where there used to be a second branch of the Kanawha River by that name. Cobb's would also be in South Charleston near Vandalia. The Coal River enters the Kanawha at St. Albans, where U.S. 35 comes in from downstream and Ohio. There is quite a ridge, actually a mountain, between the two nearly parallel rivers for many miles. Hanley's, M'Collister's and Grice's would have been stops on the lower river before crossing to Gallipolis Ohio. The Trace followed the bank of the Kanawha River clear to the Ohio, then down the bank of the Ohio to across from Gallipolis, because of high ridges along both rivers. At Gallipolis, they would have rafted over the Ohio, landing at the old town dock area, today's City Park.

An alternate route, known to be used by the Indians and some settlers, followed Moss Creek out of Beckley, one of the headwaters of the Coal River. It then followed the north bank of the Coal River through Blooming Rose to St. Albans, where Coal River empties into the Kanawha; part of this is now West Virginia 3.

At Gallipolis, the Kanawha Trace followed Gen. Lewis' Army Road to Chillicothe (after the Battle of Point Pleasant, 1774, he pushed the Indians back to their main city, building a road for his cannon, now U.S. 35: remnants of Old 35, and likely the Trace, are seen in various places through the valleys either side of the new road). The Army Road, and the Trace, started in downtown Gallipolis. Old 35 goes out of Gallipolis north of the old city and goes along Chicamauga Creek inland almost to Mills before it crosses the creek. This probably was the original route. (The creek enters the Ohio River south of Gallipolis, but swings north behind most of the city before it turns inland. It is quite swampy. Chillicothe Road, a street in the south part of Gallipolis crosses the swamps with a bridge and goes west till it junctions with Ohio 588 going on to Rodney. Ohio 588 starts in Gallipolis at the city park and bridges the top end of the swamp.) At Rodney, the Jackson Road is Old 35. Crossing Raccoon Creek at Adamsville, Woods was certainly Wood's Mill. The Trace then went on to Rio Grande, where the Adamsville Road is north of U.S. 35, actually the back drive on Bob Evans farm. Judge Poor's (or Squire Poor) was at Winchester, south of 35 at Ohio 327. This is the original Old 35, or Gallipolis Pike, now called Dixon Run Road. Jackson is still a major Ohio town, the town and trace are both south of modern U.S. 35. Richmond is now called Richmond Dale, and is on a stretch of the old road north of modern U.S. 35. Kilgore's Ferry over the Scioto River is at the bridge on U.S. 35/50, north of the mouth of Paint Creek. The Trace angled into Chillicothe on Eastern Ave (Jackson or Gallipolis Road). It then

turned up Hickory Street to Main Street, and went west past the State Capitol. Chillicothe was the first Capitol of the State of Ohio. It had been a major Shawnee Indian center and is still noted for its Hopewell Indian mounds (Mound City). There were early settlers with Dunker family names along this stretch of the Trace, but we have no record of churches.

Leaving Chillicothe, the Kanawha Trace followed the Zane Trace out of town on the Limestone Road (now Western Ave; Limestone was the original name for Maysville Kentucky, the destination of the Zane Trace). They went west along Paint Creek (U.S. 50). Elijah Johnson's would be north of Bourneville, and the Trace followed an old Indian trail that went west up a wide valley. The road is called Lower Twin, and goes to South Salem. From the Covered Bridge on Lower Twin, just west of So Salem, the Trace went north off the present road and kept to the highlands (going directly in front of Robt Smalley's house, which now sits far back a lane from the road) to Greenfield, where it forded Paint Creek on the rocky bottoms, just south of town (the old Fall Creek Church was farther south, west of Paint Creek on Fall Creek). From there, the Trace turned westward and crossed Rattlesnake Creek at Monroetown (East Monroe, on Ohio 28), to Leesburg (U.S. 62 and Ohio 28), and on west to Joel Willis', now Highland, where the old Lexington Church was just south of town. In Highland, the Trace turned north on Wilmington or Antioch Road. This is the same old winding Trace until it gets to Wilmington, where the Antioch Road met old 73, which turned west on the trace into town. Old 73 now deadends at the Airport, heading directly toward the control tower.

The Trace went westward from Wilmington to Waynesville, along Ohio 73. It crossed Todd Fork Creek and at Caesar's Creek State Park went north at the "Y," going through Harveysburg, where it wound down to Caesar's Creek (now under the reservoir). The Trace went to Corwin where it forded the Little Miami into Waynesville. Corwin is north of 73, the Trace separated at the Cemetary. It went up into the north part of Waynesville, and came back out on Ohio 73 on the west side of town. The Trace (and Ohio 73) continue on west to Springboro and Franklin along the present route (the Old Upper Springboro Pike to Waynesville coming into Franklin on 2nd Street). In the 1870's the ferry was replaced by a suspension bridge on 4th Street, later by the present Lion Bridge on 2nd Street.

At Franklin, the Trace forded the Great Miami River below the 6th Street RailRoad Bridge, then William Barkalow started a ferry at his house in 1804 (at the Tressel). The Trace went back north along the river and turned west, Ohio 123, past Rev Tapscott's house (in front of his Primitive Baptist Church), just east of the town of Carlisle. The Trace continues on from Carlisle, until it crossed Twin Creek, there it turns on Sugar Street to Sunsbury and stayed south of Germantown and Big Twin Creek. At the five points, it went ahead (to the right) on the Mudlick and Sigel Road to where Henry Moyer lived, and where it met the road going west out of Germantown (Ohio 725). The Trace continues along 725 to Gratis. Keep right at the Y into Gratis, and Ohio 122 is the old winding Trace angling northwest to Eaton, where St Clair's Fort still stood from the Indian Wars. From Eaton, U.S. 35 follows the Trace to Richmond, Indiana. Whitewater Meeting was founded 1809, in a log church at a cemetary that stood almost directly under the U.S. 27 overpass, just beyond the railroad tracks (200 feet west of the old brick church at North G street).

Danuel DuBois traced his route from Monmouth County new Jersey to Carlisle in his diary in 1804. From Chillicothe to Franklin his route matches those of the Waybill. He averaged 40 miles per day. This is the first known use of the Trace across the state.

Dunker settlement here was very early. Some of the children of Elder Jacob Miller from Franklin County Virginia, in the 1790's came up the Great Miami to Dayton, then by 1803, moved west to the state line. Philip and Anna (Miller) Lybrook followed the Trace in 1806, when he returned to Virginia and brought his wife and families of married children back to Indiana (Upper Four Mile Church). They

came by wagon. From Eaton he came west on the Old Dayton Road (Dayton through Eaton and Boston, Indiana, to Conners Trading Post, 1803).

The Trace leaving Chillicothe was not in existance when the first Quaker into Ohio, Nathaniel Pope, settled Leesburg in 1802. He left Chillicothe on the old Indian Path to Old Chillicothe (now U.S. 35 to Xenia) along the North Fork of Paint Creek. At Col. Massie's settlement, Frankfort, Pope went southwest to Leesburg. The path of the Trace from Chillicothe to Leesburg was a shortend route from his settlement. The Trace was not in existance in 1802, it was used clear across the state by 1806. The Waybill was after 1809.

The Kanawha Trace is very important to the settlement of Southern Ohio. The Quakers and Dunkers, and many others from Southern Virginia and North Carolina, followed it as they came to Ohio Country. It was probably the most used land route for migration into Ohio in the years before the Old National Road (c1827).

Assistance on this study was given by several people living in communities along the route of the Trace. Especial thanks is to be given to Rev. Robert Roller, pastor of the Fraternity Church of the Brethen, Winston Salem, North Carolina; Stan Bumgardner, Historian, West Virginia Division of Culture and History, Charleston, West Virginia; and Harriet Foley, Franklin, Ohio. Parts of the route through Virginia and West Virginia were determined from known locations, using U.S. Topographical Maps.

The Kanawha Trace Way Bill

New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina Bill of the Road to Richmond, Indiana, Crossing the Blue Ridge at Ward's Gap, and traveling the Kanhaway Route

(facing page)

To:					
Clemmons	4	4	Peters'	3	142
Beesons	5	9	Mouth of Indian River	7	149
Kerners	3	12	Pack's ferry	10	159
Bitting's	17	26	Blue Stone River	5	164
Gording's	14	43	Pack's	6	170
Unthank's	14	57	Hervey's	17	187
Perkin's	4	61	Blake's	6	193
Mankins'	8	69	Road's fork	16	209
(At Wards Gap)			Cotton hill	6	215
Cornelius'	5	74	(4 m. over)		
Road's fork	6	80	Falls of New River	5	220
Reedisland River	14	94	Benjamin Morris's	8	228
Fugat's Ford of New River	1	95	Leonard Morris's	17	245
John Feely's	5	100	Venables'	5	250
Walker's Mountain	15	115	Cobb's	7	257
Shannon's	3	118	Coal River and Coal Mountain in the way to		
Thos. Kirk's	9	127	Hanley's	18	265
Giles Court House	2	129	M'Collister's	12	277
Peters ferry	3	132	Grice's	16	293
Peters town	7	139			

(reverse page)

Ohio River	9	302	Leisburg, in Highland		
700 yds wide		Galliopolis	County, Ohio	3	396

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Woods                                  Joel Willis's - - - -   4   400
   on Rackoon Ck-  11   313            Morgantown  - - - - -   4   404
Judge Poor's - - - 15   328            Wilmington  - - - - -  10   414
Town of Jackson  -  8   336            Todd's fork Creek - -   3   417
    Scioto Salt works.                 Ceasar's creek  - - -  10   427
Coonts's - - - - - 11   347            Little Miami at
Richmond - - - - -  5   352               Waynesville  - - -   3   430
Highbank-Prairies-  5   357            Springborough - - - -   8   438
Kilgore's ferry  -  5   362            Franklin on the
     (Scioto)                             Great Miami - - -   4   442
Chilicotho - - - -  4   366            Tapscott's  - - - - -   2   444
Elijah Johnsons on                     Big twin Creek  - - -   4   448
     Paint Creek -  9   375            Eaton - - - - - - - -  17   465
Greenfield - - - - 12   387            White Water Meet House
Rattlesnake creek                        RICHMOND  ---------  16   481
     at Monroetown- 6   393
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- "This Bill may not be precisely correct in every instance" -

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(foolscap paper - before 1820) obtained from Argus Ogborn Quaker Historian, Richmond, Indiana. New Garden was in Greensboro, North Carolina - Whitewater Meeting was begun 1809)

Brethren Migration West

There were probably as many reasons for moving to the new frontier as there were people who came. A very common reason was financial. Land cost in the settled East - Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas. There was only so much land, and families were large. One son could inherit the home place, it might be the eldest, and frequently it was the youngest, who then had the responsibility of the parents. Sometimes enough land would be divided between a couple sons. Elder Carey Toney gave each of his children a Quarter Section when they got married. A smart daughter might marry a young man who would come into land, or a son to a young woman who was heir to her father. These families remained locally. There was always the man who didn't make it and left. His land could be obtained for a reasonable price for some local son. But what could the rest do? Some would die in childhood, God forbid. An occasional son would run off, to sea, or go west, and never be heard from again, whatever the reason: Indians, murdered, the far mountain trappers, lost at sea in storms, or settled down in some distant community and never send word home. Some daughters would never marry. But what about the rest? To these the open frontier was a blessing, no matter what the work and suffering. In many instances one son would be left the home place and all the rest of the family "went west", including the parents. Land was cheap in cost, it just took hard work. A person could get a good start with his own labor. They were farmers, good farmers and those lands on the frontier were fertile, so very, very fertile: topsoil two feet deep. The kind of land that gladdens the heart of any good farmer.

For some, it was depression. The government didn't issue the money, usually it was some big Bank and banks will fail. When it couldn't back its money, the money was no good. And suddenly, there was nothing to pay off a loan, or a debt. President Andrew Jackson even went so far as to sign the Credit Mobilizer - making only silver coins be money, not the paper dollars everyone had, stuffed away in a sock, or buried in a box. Then all your life's savings, were not worth the space they took. The Brethren were hard working people. But what do you do, when even that isn't enough?

For the Brethren in Virginia and Carolinas there was another reason. They had fled Pennsylvania to

Brethren Migration West

escape the pressures of the War against England. Now, even more distressing, was the conflict rising over the ownership of their fellow man. The South had the institution of slavery. True, the poorer people seldom afforded such, but the acceptance was there, even back at the edge of the mountains and in the Valley. The Brethren could not accept the idea of slavery. They looked for a place to go where they could live like they felt life should be lived, and the North West Frontier beckoned. Tobias Miller inherited a group of slaves when his father-in-law died, he freed them, bankrupting himself, and came west to this new good farmland, his brother was here.

So they came: to Kentucky, to Ohio, to Indiana, to Illinois. They came alone and with others. A man found a tract of wonderful land and made it his own. Then he went back, for family, friends, neighbors and kin, till many came, for many hands make light work and there was much work to do. They came by pack-horse train up an Indian Trail. They came down the Ohio River, the whole family in a Flatboat, with team and wagon aboard. They came by several trails in Conestoga wagons, pulled by yokes of oxen or teams of horses, four horse teams. They brought an ax, a plow and a scythe, at bare minimum, but many brought more and enough. The Lybrooks brought cherry bedsteads and cherry cupboard cabinets that are still in the family. They weren't rich, but they had what they needed and it was good. Some might come with very little, but the Brethren helped each other to make do. And those that came, wrote back to others -about this wonderful land, and next year, they came too. The Brethren came West!

Monocacy Road

ne of the earliest migration routes used by the Brethren of Pennsylvania was the Monocacy Road. It was plotted by Colony decree, by the Dunker, Michael Danner, one of the earliest settlers west of the Susquehanna River in York County, Pennsylvania (then Lancaster County) and prominent in the border dispute between the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania. (He was taken to Baltimore and thrown in jail by Thomas Cresaps, a Maryland under sheriff, alledgedly because he was living illegally in Maryland territory. It took action by the Governor of Pennsylvania to obtain his release.) The Monocacy Road was used extensively by the Brethren as they moved out of Pennsylvania into Maryland, but often into the Carolinas and Tennesse, and finally as they settled the Valley of Virginia. The Monocacy Road is closely followed by U.S. 30 from Lancaster through York Pennsylvania. There it headed more south, going first to Hanover (Pennsylvania 116) and Littlestown (Pennsylvania 194). Going on into Maryland to Taneytown (Maryland 194), it crossed the Big and Little Pipe Creeks, (Pipe Creek and Beaver Dam Churches) just above their juncture (sources to the Monocacy River), near the property of the pioneer, John VanMeter. Then it went to Woodsboro and on to the Monocacy River, at the mouth of Isreal Creek, where now Maryland 26, the Libertytown Road, crosses the Monocacy, going into Frederick, where Jacob Danner lived. Did Michael Danner make a road to the home of his son, Jacob, in Maryland? or did Jacob Danner follow his father's road down to find a new home in Maryland?

From Frederick, Maryland, the Brethren crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains through Noland's Gap into Middletown Valley, where a Brethren settlement was under the leadership of Elder Daniel Leatherman. They crossed South Mountain through Turner's Gap into the Antietam Creek Valley, where the Brethren settled under William Stover. They crossed the Potomac just above Shepherdstown at Packhorse Ford, and came to the Great Warrior's Path. General Braddock went this way with the British Army, to Hagarstown and Cumberland on his way to Pittsburgh, and death. This was the route of the Union Army to the battlefield at the Dunker Church there on Antietam Creek.

Valley or Great Wagon Road

As the Brethren and other German settlers moved out from Germantown, Pennsylvania, some regular paths of migration developed. One went west through Lancaster to Gettysburg and swung southward to Nichol's Gap in the South Mountain ridge, to Waynesboro, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on Antietam Creek. The Brethren early settled on the Antietam and Conococheague Creeks, as early as 1742, only a couple decades after they first arrive in the New World. They came from Berks County, the Oley Church. On the Conococheague they formed a church under Nicholas Martin. From the distant hills, the ridge of mountains look bluish, and for a long way, they are called that: the Blue Ridge. They are the first range of mountains going west from the coast, past the rolling hills and streams of the piedmont. They stretch from northeast to southwest. The mountains are far from the coast down in the Carolinas, they are close in upper Pennsylvania and New York. Behind this first ridge are several higher ridges, essentially parallel, with large valleys in between. In Virginia, this first valley is called the Shenandoah, after the main river that runs in it. Various rivers break through the front rampart, into the valley: The Susquehanna and Juniata, in Pennsylvania; the Potomac, the border between Maryland and Virginia; the James, the Roanoke.

The Valley, called Shenandoah in Virginia, reaches up through Maryland and into Pennsylvania. It is the valley of Antietam Creek and Conococheague Creek coming south to the Potomac, just as it is the Shenandoah River going north to the Potomac in northern Virginia. After it breaks through the ridge the James River forks in two branches -one going northeast, up the valley, and one southwest, down the valley. Similarly, the Roanoke River after it breaks through the Blue Ridge, forks into a branch going toward the James, and a branch going southwest toward the New River. The Valley itself mostly stops south of the Roanoke. The New River, coming up out of the mountains of North Carolina, has cut its own valleys, as it breaks through the Allegheny Front can goes west to the Ohio River. South of it are the several parallel valleys with the Holston and Clinch Rivers going south west into Tennessee, where they form the Tennessee River. The Great Warrior's Path went down this valley, from New York.

It's into this Great Valley, that there was movement southward. The Great Warrior's Path came down the Conococheague Creek to the Potomac. Its start was among the Iroquois Indians of the Finger Lakes and Mohawk River of New York Colony. It went to the Cherokee lands in the south - to Tennesee Country. Some early Brethren came west to the Great Warrior's Path and moved on south. Alexander Mack Jr., with the Eckerlin brothers, went to a settlement on the New River, south of Fincastle, south of Big Lick on the Roanoke River. It was called "Dunkard Bottoms", they called it "Mahanaim", today it is under the Reservoir at Blacksburg, Virginia.

Brethren families moved south. A settlement, the Shenandoah Church was formed, at the Fink Settlement near Strassburg Virginia. But a problem developed in Virginia - it was a Royal Colony. It had a State Church, the Church of England (Anglican Church or Episcopal Church today). You could only be married or buried through the church (by fee), and you were supposed to be a member of it (infant baptism). At least they demanded that you pay your tithes to it each year. The Brethren did not stay in Virginia until the time of the Revolution, when the Church of England lost its hold on the people of the colony.

The Great Wagon Road followed the Great Warrior's Path down the Valley of Virginia. From Waynesboro it came down the Path, through Hagarstown, Maryland, to the Potomac. It crossed the Potomac River at Watkins Ferry, south of Hagarstown, and followed Opequon Creek past Fort Louden and old Frederick Town (now Winchester Virginia). It crossed over to Strassburg on the North Fork of

the Shenandoah River. It stayed in the main Valley, west of the Massanutten Moutain Ridge (which divided the North Fork and South Forks of the Shenandoah), west of the River, the Shenandoah. Towns grew up along it: Woodstock, New Market and Harrisonburg, Virginia. It went on, Stanton and Lexington, on to the North River of the James. It went to the rare Natural Bridge, and James River City. It left the James going to Fincastle and on to the Big Lick on the Stanton or Roanoke River (now Roanoke Virginia). Here a branch went through the Roanoke River Gap and south to the Carolinas: the Carolina Road. The wagon road continued on down the Valley to the New River. It crossed at Ingles Ferry, to go to Dunkers Bottom, Blacksburg and Christiansburg. It went on to Stephen Holston's (Wytheville), and Stalnackers (Marion) on the Holston River, to Abingdon. It went on to Bristol on the Virginia Line, to Long Island of the Holston (Kingsport) in Tennessee, where the North Branch joins, making the headwaters of the Tennessee River, and continuing down the front of Clinch Mountain, Bean Station and Knoxville. This route is old U.S. 11 (I-81 is closely parallel).

There was an large settlement of the Brethren on the Holston and Clinch Rivers, west of the Mountains. This is the main center of Tennessee District of the Church of the Brethren.

A branch of the Great Warriors Path turned west, just south of Abingdon. It crossed Moccasin Gap through Clinch Mountain, crossed the Clinch River Valley, and Powell Mountain, into the Powell River Valley, till it came to a gap in the Alleghany Front, named the Cumberland Gap, after the Duke of Cumberland. Thomas Walker and Daniel Boone pioneered this road - for the thousands that went into Kaintuck.

Carolina Road

From Big Lick, on the Roanoke River (now Roanoke Virginia), in the Valley of Virginia, the early Brethren settlers moved south into the Carolinas. They went out through the Roanoke River Gap and down the face of the Blue Ridge Mountains. U.S. 220 is approximately the route used - through Boone's Mills and Rocky Mount to Martinsville and into the Carolina Colony (later divided into North and South). The original roadbed is known in Franklin County, Virginia, to have been west of U.S. 220, on the slopes of Cahas Mountain, and farther up Maggody Creek and the Blackwater River than the present road. This is the area Elder Jacob Miller lived - but his arrival there is in 1773 (not the traditional date of 1765). His cabin site is on the west side of the Blue Ridge Parkway, on nearly the top of the ridge, at Adney Gap (land which he sold to Adney in 1800), some 10 miles south of Roanoke. He came to where Brethren already were.

In 1748, the year Alexander Mack Jr. left Dunkard's Bottom and returned to Germantown, David Martin, son of Elder George Adam Martin, formed the Beaver Creek Church, on the Broad River, Newberry County, South Carolina. The Brethren had already moved down the Yadkin River and were living on the Broad River.

From Franklin and Floyd Counties South Carolina, the Carolina Road came almost directly south to the Moravian Center at Salem (now Winston- Salem, North Carolina). It then followed down the Yadkin River to Lexington and Salisbury (North Carolina 8 and U.S. 29). Brethren Settlements were along the Yadkin River, some being west into the Blue Ridge Mountains and others being south. The Carolina Road left the Yadkin at Salisbury and swung west to the Broad River at Charlotte, North Carolina.

In York County, South Carolina, the Road seems to have split, one branch going westward to Chester and south to Columbia, South Carolina (U.S. 321), the other branch staying nearer the river to Columbia

Carolina Road

(U.S. 21). The road ended at the Savannah River across from Augusta Georgia.

Most of the Brethren in South Carolina stayed nearer the mountains and the Broad and Catawba Rivers, although one settlement was on the Saluda River, south of Greenville, and there is even record of one somewhere on the Edisto River - possibly towards Augusta. A settlement of 7th Day Brethren (Sabbatarians) from Ephrata was even farther south in Georgia, but it died out, blame is given to swamp fever (Malaria?)

Braddock Road

ajor General Edward Braddock, of the Coldstream Guards, was Supreme Commander of the British Forces in the American Colonies during the French and Indian War, 1754-1763, the colonial phase of the Seven Years War between England and France, fought world wide. In an attempt to deter the Indian raids and massacres into the frontier settlements in the middle colonies, he determined to take the French Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh), at the forks of the Ohio River. In 1755, with an army of 1400 British Regulars and a militia of 700 provinicals under Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, he moved up the Annapolis Road to Frederick, Maryland. There he took the settlers road through Middletown Valley to Hagerstown, and on to the frontier Fort Frederick, on the Potomac River. Under the guidance of the Colonial Scouts, following the path used by Colonel George Washington only the year before, he started for Fort Duquesne. The army had to cut their own road for the wagon's and cannon. They went west, through Cumberland, Maryland, (old Fort Cumberland). They passed the tiny Fort Necessity, where Colonel Washington had escaped with his troops after surrendering to the French, just the year before. From the Redstone Creek (Uniontown), the army headed due north until it crossed the Youghiogheny River. It then followed the Monongahela River toward the fort. At the town of Braddock, some 7 miles from the Point (the site of Old Fort Duquesne), there in a ravine, the British Army was ambushed by a combined French and Indian force, a slaughter ensued. The remnants of the army fled back along the route of its approach. General Braddock, having been mortally injured in the fight, died and was buried in the road, at Great Meadows, east of now Uniontown, Pennsylvania, about a mile from little Fort Necessity. His grave was covered and run over by the remaining wagons, to hide it from discovery by the enemy.

Braddocks Road is essentially followed by U.S. 40 from Frederick, Maryland, through Hagarstown, Maryland, Cumberland, Maryland, to Grantsville, Maryland, and into Pennsylvania, past Fort Necessity National Battlefield, to Uniontown, Pennsylvania. There Braddock's Road went north toward Pittsburgh, the route now followed by U.S. 51.

The early Brethren used Braddock's Road to move into western Pennsylvania. Settlements were already off the trace at the Antietam and Conococheague (East and West of Hagarstown). Brethren settlers moved north from the Road into Morrison's Cove and the Valleys of the Juniata, into Brother's Valley and Somerset County, and west from Uniontown to Fort Redstone on the Monongehela (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania) and on west to Washington County, Pennsylvania. Elder George Wolfe and sons were only one of several at Fort Redstone, who built flatboats for migration down the Ohio to the Western Frontier. This route was followed by the builders of the Cumberland Road, taking it through Old Fort Redstone to the Ohio River at Fort Henry (Wheeling) by 1818. This route is followed by U.S. 40.

Forbes Road

The French and Indian war (1754-1763), the colonial aspects of the Seven Years War between Britain and France was continuing. With the defeat and death of General Braddock, the frontier flamed with Indian atrocities. His objective, the capture of Fort Duquesne, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was still important. In 1758, a second expedition was formed under Brigadier John Forbes, again with Colonel George Washington in assistance. The Army left Philadelphia on the Old Wagon Road going west. The Road went through Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and York, Pennsylvania, to the frontier settlements of Gettysburg and Waynesboro. From Gettysburg, Forbes Road went outhward along Pennsylvania 116 to near Fountain Dale where it is taken up by Pennsylvania 16 to Waynesboro, Greencastle, Mercersburg to Cove Gap and McConnelsburg. The next destination was Coves Gap south of now Fort Loudon, where they crossed through the ridge into the great valleys and ridges of central Pennsylvania. From McConnelsburg they had to widen the settler traces and Indian trails across Sideling Hill to Fort Bedford, in order to bring their wagons and cannon. For its full length, Forbes Road follows the route of U.S. 30.

From Fort Bedford the army had to cut their own road. In true military method, they refused to allow any higher grounds above them, going always to the highest ground around. They followed the south heights of the stream going out of Bedford to the southwest, then turn sharply northward, passing directly through the now Shawnee State Park and crossing U.S. 30. Staying on the heights to the north of U.S. 30, they crossed the Allegheny Front, taking one full day to climb the mountain. Coming down into Somerset County, they trod the road now in front of the Brethren Camp Harmony, passed the south edge of Quemahoning Reservoir, and at the town of Boswell turned north to Laural Mountain. They came down on the ridge just south of Waterford Pennsylvania and hit Pennsylvania 711 just north of Ligonier Pennsylvania, marching into the town area along that roadway. Here they built a major fort (rebuilt partially on the site). The outer works included the diamond downtown, about 4 blocks away (about 2 blocks wide) from the inner works on the banks above Loyalhanna Creek. The fort was log walled, with an abattis of pointed logs angling outward at the base. (This forced the engineering corps to attempt to chop an opening through the abattis, while being fired down upon by the soldiers on the wall above.) The French and Indian Army met British Army, coming from the Cemetery Hill and across the meadow to Loyalhanna Creek at the fort, the British this time won the victory. Forbes used forced marches to get to Fort Duquesne, but no road was cleared, and historians do not know the exact route. Likely it was near the Loyalhanna, going through the water gap and Latrobe, passing near the later Bushy Run Battlefield (of Pontiac's War - where he hit a supply train). They entered the present city area through Turtle Creek, and from the ridge at Oakland, they saw the burning ruins of old Fort Duquesne. On its foundations, they built Fort Pitt.

Settlers and later travelers rerouted the Forbes road to more accessible approaches, and at different times the various "Forbes" roads covered areas some 30 miles across. The Road is essentially followed by U.S. 30, being normally only a few miles away, usually north.

Forbes Road was used by the Brethren as a better alternate route into several areas of Brethren settlement: Morrison's Cove, Brother's Valley. Its main use by the Frontier Settler was to reach Fort Pitt and the Ohio River, where they could build flatboats for migration down the Ohio to the Western Frontier.

Wilderness Road

In 1769 Daniel Boone left his family on the Yadkin, to try to gain some of the fur profits

of storied Kaintuck. One source says that he crossed to the Holston Valley of Lee County, Virginia, and followed the Great Warrior's Path west to Powell Valley and the Cumberland Gap. Another gives a pass through the Blue Ridge along the headwaters of the Wautagua River of Tennessee, into the Holston River Valley. He found the land as wonderful as his dreams and decided to move. He also found that others were already there before him. Just across the gap, leaving behind the high ridge, into the multitudinous broken streams, he could hardly stand the stink. Thomas Walker had trapped the area recently, the decaying skinned bodies left lying scattered along the Great Warrior's Path were so nauseating it was almost impossible to travel. The Great Warrior's Path stayed in the edge of the hills, going down Goose Creek to Manchester, Kentucky, (past the Flat Creek Mission) and headed north to the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto River. It continued on north as the Scioto Trail, back to the Lake Erie, near Sandusky, the land of the Tuscaroras Indians.

Daniel Boone brought his family and neighbors to Kentucky the next year. They built the little Fort on the Kentucky River - called Boonesboro, then he began to break a new route through the rough ridges to the Blue Grass plains of the Kentucky River, a road that would not go up Stinking Creek. Later, the road was widened for wagon traffic - it was the Wilderness Road.

U.S. 25E follows closely the route of the Wilderness road, from the Cumberland Gap, across Pine Mountain (and the famous "Chained Rock" on its slope) to Pineville, Kentucky, to Corbin and London, to Richmond and Boonesboro, on the Kentucky River. From Renfro Valley and Berea on, the road is leaving the Mountainous Hills and Valleys, and entering the bluegrass of Kentucky. The edge of the Hills into the Bluegrass is very abrupt and obvious.

Near Berea, Kentucky is Big Hill - standing along, out away from the hills, there legend says that Daniel Boone, chased by the Indians, climbed the high limestone cliffs that completely circle the mountain - and using the butt of his rifle, smashed the fingers of the Indians who tried to also gain the top against him.

Logan's Path

Near Mount Vernon, just below Renfro Valley, was Crab Orchard. Here Logan's Path broke from the Wilderness Road and headed northwest to Logan's Fort or St. Asaph, to Danville, Fort Harrod (Harrodsburg) and the Falls (Louisville). It cut through the heart of the Blue Grass of Kentucky. It is followed primarily today by U.S. 150. From Danville, U.S. 127 goes to north to Frankfort, which became the capitol of the State of Kentucky.

Hunter's Trace

Another trace used by early Brethren settlers was the Hunter's Trace, which went westward from London KY along the headwaters of the Cumberland River, to the Green River, through Somerset and Glasgow to Bowling Green, Kentucky (Kentucky 80), then southward to the Cumberland at old Fort Nashville (Nashville, Tennessee). There was an early Brethren settlement south of Bowling Green in Warren and Simpson Counties Kentucky, and a smaller one in Davidson County, Tennessee (Nashville). These seem to be original settlers coming from the Carolinas through the Cumberland Gap. Later settlers came up the Green River from the Ohio to Muhlenberg County.

Canada Road

The early Brethren moved north on the Susquehanna River into Northumberland County, Pennsylvania near or soon after the time of the Revolutionary War. There was a trace along the River, there were also a couple traces from the Tulpehocken and from Reading across the ridge into the Shamokin Valley. In 1800, the King opened up settlement in Upper Canada (now Ontario). The land was available cheap, in "Lots" of 200 acres, by Concessions of 35 lots, in each of a number of townships and counties. There was considerable Mennonite, Brethren and River Brethren migration to Lincoln County (between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario -next to the Niagara Falls); Vaughan township, York County (north-west of Toronto); and near Kitchener. Many Brethren from Brother's Valley (Somerset County), Northumberland County (Shamokin, West Branch and Lycoming Valleys) and Southern Pennsylvania areas went up. In the east, there are two known mainly parallel roads, used to go to Canada.

[Mennonite Quarterly Review, January 1929]
a notebook by Joseph Bowman of Waterloo Ontario

Description of the road from Reading to Waterloo Township, Halton County, Upper Canada. Joseph Bowman, started September the 4th, 1817, and arrived in Waterloo, October the 2nd 1817.

From Reading to:	miles	(located)
Kergerstown	10	(?near Hamburg PA)
Orwigsburg	11	(east of Pottsville)
Sunbury	47	
Northumberland	2	
Milltown	12	(Milton PA)
Bensborough	14	(?Muncy PA)
Muncy Creek	2	
Williamsport	12	
Heur's tavern	17	(?Roaring Branch PA)
Blockhouse	14	(?Covington PA)
Peters Camp	12	(?Tioga PA)
Widow Berry	18	(?Presho NY)
Addam Hart	6	(?Gang Mills NY)
Thomas Mayberry	20	(Bath NY)
Robert Patterson	6	(?Avoca NY)
Mulhollans tavern	20	(Danville NY)
Dreisbachs tavern	3	(Sparta NY)
Bigtree	15	(Geneseo NY)
Genasee River	7	(Avon NY)
Calladony Town	7	(Caladonia NY)
Davis' tavern	4	
Leroyl	3	(Le Roy NY)
Battavia	11	(Batavia NY
Richardson's tavern	11	(?Pembroke NY)
Hersy's tavern	15	(Harris Hill NY)
Buffalo	14	
Blackrock ferry	2	
John Boyer	10	(?Black Creek ONT)
Falls	8	
Jacob Myer	20	(Jordan ONT)
Carpenter's tavern	13	(?Stoney Creek ONT)
Dundass	18	(edge of Hamilton)
John Erb's Mill (Preston)	23	(Preston ONT)
Miles	429	

The western road went from Reading to Sunbury (Pennsylvania 61), followed the West Branch of the Susquehanna (Pennsylvania 405/I took I-180), then up the Lycoming Creek from Williamsport to Roaring Branch (U.S. 15/PA 14), and across the mountains to Blossburg (mountain road to Ogdensburg, good), to Tioga, to Corning, New York (U.S. 15). This road was used as early as 1798.

In New York, the west route followed the wide valley of the Chemung River, going northwest (New York 17/I-390) to Danville where they turned north (New York 63) to "Big Tree" or Geneseo, New York (Big Tree -Ken de wa- was chief of the Indian Village there, hence the original name).

From Geneseo, New York it followed the Gennesee River (New York 39) to Avon, where it crossed on the Iroquois Trail, going to Caladonia (New York 5), to Batavia, to Buffalo, New York. There they ferried the Niagara River above the Falls. Black Rock was very close to the present Peace Bridge from Buffalo, New York to Fort Erie, Ontario. "Hersy's tavern" is Harris Tavern, the oldest building in Erie County, at Harris Hill on, New York 5, just at the edge of modern Buffalo.

West of there, above the Escarpment (the cause of the Falls) was a settlement of the Brethren and River Brethren. For those going on, the road went along the River to the Niagara Falls.

Just above the Falls, at the Chippawa River (Battle, 1812), the British Portage, Portage Road, turned inland (now Main Street, Niagara Falls, Ontario) going to Queenston, on the Niagara River below the Escarpment. At Ferry Street, a road, Lundy's Lane, turned west (Bloody Battle in the War of 1812). Later a branch of the road, called Beaver Dam Road, goes to the old Settlers Road, joining it somewhere near Jordan, Ontario, (well, it doesn't go clear through any more -the Welland Canal stops it near Thorold, just south of St. Catherines).

The Settler's Road went west along the base of the Escarpment. It is Highway 81 from St. Catherines through Jordan ("20 Mile"), Vineland, Beamsville, to Grimsby ("40 Mile"). From there it becomes Highway 8 to Stoney Creek and is Queenston Street through Hamilton. Elder Jacob Moyer (Mennonite) lived on the 20 Mile Creek, between Jordan and Vineland. There may have been a Brethren settlement at Grimsby, but I didn't find their museum open, to research.

Those going to Kitchener followed Highway 8 directly from Hamilton, through Dundas, Cambridge, Preston, Kitchner to Waterloo. For those going to Vaughan, they followed the lake shore to beyond Mississauga and headed north on the Royal York Road and Jane Street. Vaughan township was mentioned as 20 miles from the docks at Toronto, which is a considerable distance by horse.

Joseph Bowman started from Waterloo, February the 9th, 1819,
and arrived in Reading, February the 27th 1819.

From John Erb's Mill to		
Jacob Myer	60	(Jordan ONT)
Cadareenstown (St Cathrines) ...	8	(St Catherines ONT)
Queenstown	12	(Queenston ONT)
Morehous's tavern	25	(Hartland NY)
Olarged Creek	13	(Oak Orchard Creek)
`Tillanson's tavern	28	(?Parma's Corners NY)
Rochester	11	
Pitsford	8	
Cannandaigua	21	
Benyang (Penn Yang)	22	(Penn Yan NY)
Head of Sennaka Lake	30	(Watkins Glen NY)

Coryell's tavern	7	(?Montour Falls NY)
New Town	15	(Elmira NY)
Lowman's tavern	7	(Lowman NY)
Tioga point	14	(Greens Landing PA)
Shaw's tavern	6	(?Ulster PA)
Brown's tavern	27	(Browntown -Wyalusing)
Smith's Ferry	30	(?Eatonville PA)
Wilksberry	20	(Wilkes-Barre PA)
Rack's tavern	17	
Mirwein's tavern	16	
Dreisbach's Mill	6	
Lehigh Water Gap	12	(?Palmerton PA)
Richard's Tavern	8	
Kutstown	6	(Kutztown PA)
Reading	17	
Miles	458	
Spending Money	$22.53	

Lets go south from Waterloo/Kitchner Ontario ---Highway 8

Joseph Bowman went clear through on the old Settlers road (Highway 8/ Highway 81) to Elder Jacob Moyer at Jordan, and continued on to St. Catherines, Ontario. Here Highway 81 continues on the Queenston, Ontario, as Queenston Street, then York Road on to Queenston. At Queenston it come to the bluff at the Niagara River, just at the foot of the Escarpment where the U.S. Army was defeated by British General Brock, in the War of 1812. Just south on Front Street (at Dunfries Street) was a twisting lane down to the "Sand Beach" landing on the River. Here was the ferry to Lewistown in New York. The South Landing Inn on Front Street was built near that time.

From Lewistown, New York, the Settlers Road followed the Ridge Road to Rochester, New York. This was a sandy ridge several miles back from Lake Ontario, said to be the Archaic Beach of the Prehistoric "Lake Iroquois". The ferry landing was at Center Street, which is the end of the Ridge Road at the Niagara River. The old Ridge Road is, New York 104 from Lewistown going east. Samuel Morehouse built a "hotel" at Hartland Corners in 1813. This is now the west part of the town of Hartland, in Niagara County, New York.

Local Historians seemed to think that German speaking Joseph Bowman misunderstood the English name of "Oak Orchard Creek", because it was named for an Orchard of Oak trees at its mouth (Point Breeze) on the bay on Lake Ontario. The Ridge Road crosses Oak Orchard Creek at "Oak Orchard on the Ridge", just northeast of Medina, New York. I was unable to locate any records to "Tillianson's Tavern" but distances on, New York 104 placed it just about, New York 259, or Parma's Crossing.

From Rochester, New York, the route would likely have followed, Pennsylvania 64 to Pittsford and angled down to the Iroqouis Castle of Canandaigua on the mouth of Lake Canandaigua (Finger Lakes area). From there, New York 147 goes south and east to Penn Yan (for early settlers from Pennsylvania and Yankee Connecticut) (mouth of Keuka Lake), then 14A and 14 to Watkins Glen at the head of Seneca Lake. Coryell's tavern was likely at the "Montour Falls" on the river feeding into the Lake. They then followed over the Indian Trail to the headwaters of the Susquehanna River at Horseheads (where General Sullivan had to kill his horse pack team, as he lead the army in its raid against the Iroqouis Indians in 1762).

Elmira, New York, was originally named Newtown, the name being changed in 1828. The Indian Trail followed down the Susquehanna River as far as Wilkes Barre. Tioga Point is a historical site at Greens Landing, just south of Athens, Pennsylvania. From Wilkes Barre, Joseph crossed over to the Lehigh River, passing through the Narrows the gap in the Mountain there (Lehigh Gorge), and on toward Allentown, Pennsylvania. Instead, he turned west to Kutztown and on to Reading.

This is a main Iroquois Indian Trail that followed this route, from Canada all the way down to the Susquehanna River Valley (noted by an earliest settler, Jemima Wilkinson).

(I followed the western route, plotting the locations: 1998. I traced the upper, New York and Canada route last week, 1999, and hope to drive the eastern route this summer!)

Delaware Road

ust above the bridge over the Whitewater River at Yankeetown, south in Richmond, Indiana, is a hard packed ford some 6 ft. wide. The river bottom is soft and mucky on either side, but here the bottom is packed hard from its first use by buffalo, or the American Bison, that used to roam this woodlands, then to its use by the Indians and the "Indian Road" that is traced across the county. Early deeds identify this as "the Indian Road from Muncytown to Ft. Hamilton". The route across Union County, Indiana, has been plotted from surveyor records on early deeds and collected by former county surveyor and Four Mile Church deacon, Albert Brown. Some of the physical route has been identified by farmers, due to the improvement of the Indian trail by early settlers, who widened it to a wagon road and filled the low spots with stones and gravel. Local farmers, when plowing, suddenly find stones in their clayloam fields. The traced route started at Rossville, at Hamilton Ohio, directly acrossed the Great Miami River from old Fort Hamilton or the bridge over the river there. It is picked up west of Darrtown where it passed Chaw Raw Hill along the Four Mile Creek banks. [Chaw Raw Hill - it's named that because one early migrant father and sons decided to camp on top of the hill, along the Indian Path. They had killed a turkey for their meal, but just as they were getting ready to cook it -they discovered a group of Indian warriors coming down the trail. They dare not start a fire -they "chawed the Turkey -Raw!"]

The old road there has been washed away as the creek has shifted its banks. Somewhere north the old road crossed the creek and went past what became the town of Oxford, Ohio. Brown Road going north out of Oxford to the Hueston Woods State Park seems to be the old Indian Road. In the Park, the Indian Road would have started down the drive to the Sugar Camp, but where the drive turns right, the access road going ahead to the beach area follows an old road shown on early maps. The Indian Road is identified as about 1/2 mile from the juncture of the Middle and Little Four Mile Creeks, about where the circle drive crosses the Little Four Mile, where the College Corner Road enters at Park Headquarters. The boat storage there could be the site of the old trading post and the Indian village was possibly in the open grounds by the office buildings. A long winding gully at the south-east corner of the campgrounds is probably the Road climbing out of the Four Mile creekbed where the settlers could pull their wagons. The Indian Road passed around the Indian Mound, at the far west end of the campgrounds on the ridge above the Little Four Mile.

On the Eaton Pike, out of College Corner, just south of the Buck Paxton Road, there used to be a residence building sitting back of the current house. It faced southwest on an angle, just above the decline into the ravine there. This would be where the Indian Road crossed the ravine.

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Loretta Carty

Entries: 687 **Updated:** Fri Jan 18 07:15:21 2002
Contact: Loretta Carty **lcarty@midwest.net**

- *ID:* I36890125
- *Name:* George Washington ENGLISH
- *Given Name:* George Washington
- *Surname:* ENGLISH
- *Sex:* M
- *Birth:* 12 Oct 1829 in Monroe Co., Ohio
- *Death:* 1 Oct 1897 in White Co., IL
- *Burial:* Mt. Olive Cemetery, White Co., IL

Father: b: 19 Mar 1790/1791 in Virginia
Mother: b: 4 Jun 1801 in probably Belmont Co., Ohio

Marriage 1

- *Married:* 31 Dec 1885

Marriage 2 b: 27 Apr 1841 in Monroe Co., Ohio

- *Married:* 28 Nov 1858 in Belmont Co., Ohio

Children

1. ~~1~~ Wm. Bruce b: 6 Dec 1859 in Monroe Co., Ohio d. 11-16-00 Lick Cr
2. Albert Maywood b: 7 Dec 1861 in Monroe Co., Ohio Big Hill
3. Eliz Jane b: 25 Feb 1864 in Monroe Co., Ohio Bonnell
4. Lucinda Rebecca b: 13 Dec 1866 in Fulton Co., IL Okla
5. John Frank b: 1 Oct 1869 in Fulton Co., IL Mt olive
6. Amanda Belle b: 8 Feb 1871 in White Co., IL 1953 Mt. Olive
7. Molly b: 18 Jun 1873 in White Co., IL —
8. James Carl b: 6 Dec 1875 in White Co., IL 1925 Blairsville
9. Julia Etta b: 23 Oct 1878 in White Co., IL 2-13-45 Ruykendall
10. Geo Ervin b: 1 Mar 1881 in White Co., IL Bonnell

On the State Line Road, where the Union County Indiana, survey shows the Indian Road, an old pair of foundation sites were remembered, again on an angle to the world, in back of the present barnlot. Just west of this, on the back of the Hartman farm, is an old crossing over Little Four Mile Creek, still used to get to the fields east of the creek. This was originally the Christian Witter Farm and the Witter cemetary is on the bank of the Four Mile. Mrs. Hartman is a Witter. The Indian Road continued north-west and crossed first the Nine Mile Road then Indiana 44 south and west of the corner. It continued more northward till it crossed Hannas Creek a little south of the Hanna's Creek Church. Then turned nearly due west across Union County. South-west of Clifton it angled northward to the Buffalo Ford. The road then seems to have angled north -west, to the old Universalist town of Philomet, and on through Dublin toward Hagarstown, Indiana.

Just north of the Nettle Creek Church at Hagerstown, is the old Stout Farm. In the early years of this century, Indians walked between the house and barn of that farm, on what they claimed was their old pathway. The scout-camp at Muncie, Indiana (old Muncytown) tells Indian lore about the old Indian Path to Richmond. The road actually passed south and west of Richmond. From Hagerstown, the Indian Road would have followed on or close to the Buck Creek Road, to Mt. Pleasant onto U.S. 35, south of Muncie. This would account for the Dunker settlement along it called the Buck Creek Church. The winding and twisting of this old country road could be the original winding and twisting of the Indian path as it wove along the higher ground around the giant forest trees, swamps and steep gullys.

The early migrants used an extension of this road from Muncie, Indiana, going northwest to Kokomo. One route went westward, to the Wildcat Creek which flowed into the Wabash River at Lafayette, Indiana. Most of the Brethren settlers stopped along it, few going farther than Flora, Indiana. The other went north, through Kokomo to Peru, Indiana. This triangle along the Wabash River was a major settlement area in western Indiana during the early 1830s for the Four Mile families and their kin and neighbors in Preble and Montgomery Counties, Ohio.

From the settlements here, some of the Brethren went north to Michigan Territory, the LaPorte/South Bend Indiana area [although the earliest settlers there used the Wayne Trace (General Mad Anthony Wayne's Army Road of 1794) to the town of Ft Wayne, then followed an Indian Trail, now U.S. 33, to Goshen, Elkhart, and South Bend, Indiana]. Others from here moved west into Illinois territory, settling along the Illinois River. Then in 1855, two major groups moved to Iowa.

National Road

riginally called the Cumberland Road, since it was going to the West from Cumberland Maryland. It started at the end of an early road from Baltimore, Maryland, that went to Cumberland, Maryland, and followed the Pennsylvania path of General Braddock's Army road to Pittsburgh. In Fayette County, Pennsylvania, passing the historic Fort Necessity, of young George Washington, it headed down the Redstone River to the Monongehela. At Old Fort Redstone, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, many built flatboats for travel down the Ohio River. It crossed the Monongehela and went on to Washington County, Pennsylvania going to the Ohio River. It arrived at the Ohio, at Old Fort Henry, now Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1818. The Old National Road became U.S. 40, and now is paralleled by I-70. The Old National Road left the west bank of the Ohio River in 1825. It continued on across the state of Ohio, with its destination being the new Capitol of Indiana: Indianapolis. It arrived at Richmond, Indiana, in 1827, but was stopped by, and did not cross the Gorge until 1835. But by then there was Vandalia, the capitol of the new state of Illinois, and the destination for the Road was set at St. Louis, Missouri, which it reached in 1837. Local

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construction was by sections, connecting them across the state.

The Old National Road followed the Old Zane Trace (1784) from Fort Henry to Zanesville. At Zanesville the Zane Trace turning southwest to Chillicothe, the Old National Road going west, this was memorialized by the "Y" Bridge. In the very center of the River where the Licking joins the Muskingum, the Covered Bridge (and the modern highway bridge) divided. Go left and you follow the Zane Trace (U.S. 22) past the White Cottage Church of the Brethen, toward Chillicothe. Go right and you follow the Old National Road to Columbus and Dayton. The Brethren settled heavily around Dayton using the Old National Road.

The Road in the east had been poorly built, and had to be rebuilt due to the heavy wagon usage. When the decision was made to push the Road on across the nation, the Road east was rebuilt from this experience and the new Road, on west, was built better from the start. It was built on a right-of-way that was 80 feet wide. It was a "Macadam", fifteen feet wide, built of 3 layers of crushed stone, 15 inches deep in the center, but sloping off to the edges for drainage. The Road was "metal-surfaced", graded with a metal blade, at least occasionally.

A feature of the Old National Road that can still be seen is its S bridges. The builders of the Road crossed the streams at right angles. Streams do not always flow perpendicular to the Road, so many of approaches curve up onto the bridges. Most of the bridges also are highly arched. The Old National Road had another feature in its day that one considers to be very modern. About 2 miles east of Richmond, Indiana, in Preble County, Ohio, on U.S. 40, on the south side of the Road, is standing a trunkated Pine Tree. It only has a few living branches. This is the only one remaining of originally a triangle of 3 Pine Trees: the Old National Road designation of a Rest Stop.

The Road had heavy usage. From the very first, Richmond, Indiana, recorded traffic of 100 wagons a day. Many were Conestoga Wagons pulled by 4 to 6 horses or oxen. Shipping charges were $10 per ton. Lighter traffic was with "shake-guts", unsprung carts with 2 huge wheels. In 1832, Zanesville counted:

2357	wagons with 3 or more horses
11613	2-horse carriages or wagons
14907	1-horse carriages
35310	horseback riders
16750	horses and mules
24410	sheep - driven
52845	hogs - driven
96323	cattle -driven

That is 100 vehicles a day, and herds of animals, going 18-20 miles a day, west!

Many of the Brethren came west in 1828 or 1830 on the Old National Road, and the Brethren used the Road for settlement into Indiana and Illinois. In Indiana, there were already several Brethren communities near the Road: the Four Mile, south of Richmond; the Nettle Creek, west of Richmond; and the Ladoga Churches, over near the Wabash in western Indiana; but for most of Indiana and Illinois, the churches were considerably north and migration came west on the Road, then turned north. At St. Louis, the end of the Old Nation Road was the springboard for migration on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to the West, settlements in: Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska. The Old National Road is probably one of the most important factors of westward migration in the United States.

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Wayne Road

In 1793, General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary War fame, replaced Governor St. Clair, who had been so devastatingly defeated at Fort Recovery ,Ohio. He came to Fort Washington (now Cincinnati, Ohio) and brought with him something that Governor St. Clair did not have - a contingent of the Continental Line, 1500 soldiers strong. He supplemented these with Kentucky militia, having a total well over 2500. These were station on the Great Miami River, just north of Cincinnatus, at Fort Hamilton. He crossed the River with his army, and moved northward, upstream. He first crossed a river at four miles from Fort Hamilton, which he named the: "Four Mile" (stream followed by the Delaware Indian Road, and stream on which the Four Mile Church was formed in Indiana). He continued upstream and at 7 miles forded another river, which again he logically named, the: "Seven Mile" (this stream goes north to Eaton Ohio, the site of old Fort St. Clair, of the previous Governor). He marched up the east side of the Seven Mile, above the banks on the hills alongside. His trace is about one mile east and parallel to U.S. 127. He passed the old Fort St. Clair and went on toward St. Clair's fort at Fort Jefferson. He passed through the town of Castine and his men camped about 2 miles south of Fort Jefferson, at Wayne Lakes on Ohio 121. He moved on north of Fort Jefferson to a heights along the Greenville Creek and built a large fort for overwinter, Fort Greenville. The fort stood about 2 blocks wide and about 4 blocks long, angling NE-SW along Greenville Creek. This places the nearest corner of the fort about 6 blocks from the Greenville Brethren's Home. During the winter, he had his soldiers built a fortification at the site of St. Clairs defeat, naming it Fort Recovery, 25 miles north of Greenville.

In 1794, he began his push north. The Indians met him at the old battlefield where the new fort was. This time they were defeated. With the stability of the professional Continental Line, General Wayne then began a very defensive forward advance - the Indians probed his lines and formation repeatedly, but could gain no advantage and could not stop him. He pushed them beyond their own villages and fields and destroyed all their supplies and substance.

Finally, on the Maumee River in northern Ohio, as he approached the established outpost British Fortifications, the Indians set up a major defense in the debris of a Tornado, the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Facing a bayonet charge by the Continenals, with the militia finding a way to their rear, the Indians fled. The Indian opposition to settlement in Ohio was ended at the Treaty of Greenville, 1795. A line was drawn across the state from Fort Recovery, and another line drawn from there, angling southwest to the Ohio, to the mouth of the Kentucky River (when the Ohio State LIne was laid in 1803, this additional area west of the Ohio Line was called "the Gore"). General Wayne named all the lands north and west of the Great Miami River (to Lake St. Mary's at Celina, Ohio) as Indian Territory - called "Indiana".

The area south and east of these lines was shared land, the Indians were free to use it, and the settlers could freely establish homes. (In a second treaty at Greenville, in 1814, the Brethren Minister, Philip Younce and his family played a major supporting role. Margaret Byrket Younce baked bread and offered food to the some 4000 Indians gathered there.)

The Wayne Trace from Greenville north is followed by Ohio 49 to Fort Recovery and north along the state line. At Willshire it jogs east across the St. Mary's River and continues north. At U.S. 224, the old trace continued north through Payne to the Maumee River, but Ohio 49 goes east and north to Convoy before coming back to Payne.

The early Brethren followed this route north from the settlements on the Great Miami (Montgomery,

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Shoaf's and related families

Entries: 16281 **Updated:** Mon Jun 3 03:19:54 2002
Contact: Cole Shoaf **blazerman1@email.msn.com**

- *ID:* I78997109
- *Name:* Susan Maria DOWNEN
- *Given Name:* Susan Maria
- *Surname:* Downen
- *Sex:* F
- *Birth:* 14 Mar 1884 in Gallatin Co, IL
- *Death:* 18 Apr 1964 in Carmi Hospital, Carmi, IL
- *Burial:* 20 Apr 1964 Plainview Cem, White Co, IL

Father: b: 25 Aug 1855 in Oliver Station, Posey Co, IN
Mother: b: 12 Nov 1861 in Monroe Co, OH

Marriage 1 Jos. Edw. Mobley b: 5 Mar 1866 in Emma Twp, White Co, IL

- *Married:* 20 Dec 1900 in White Co, IL

Children

1. Geo Wm b: 22 May 1903 in White Co, IL
2. Earl Edmond b: 26 Jun 1901 in Herald's Prairie, White Co, IL
3. Leo Franklin b: 15 Dec 1904 in IL
4. Ethel J. b: Living Individual, details withhel

Sources:

1. Title: GEDCOM file imported on 21 Aug 1999.
2. Title: GEDCOM file imported on 22 Aug 1999.

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Miami, Darke, Preble Counties, Ohio) and the Four Mile. Earliest settlers were Jacob Witter and Squire Thompson who moved to the St Joseph River in Michigan Territory about 1824. They followed the Wayne Trace to the crossing of the St. Mary's River, then followed an Indian Trail going to the north-west. The Indian Trail went to the old French Fort at the juncture of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph Rivers which form the Maumee (Fort Wayne, Indiana) The Indian Trail continues northwest into the Lake area of Northern Indiana and follows the Elkhart River through Lagrange and Goshen, Indiana, to the St Joseph River (another one - named by the French Priest Champaign) at Elkhart, Indiana. It then follows the St. Joseph River west to its "South Bend" (Indiana) where it heads north past the French fort at Niles, Minnesota, to Lake Michigan at St. Joe-Benton Harbor, Minnesota. Goshen, Indiana, was named by the early Brethren for their early home on the Obannon, at Goshen in Clermont County, Ohio, (Obannon Church). The Indian Trail, starting near Columbus, Ohio, is followed by U.S. 33.

The Brethren settlements in northern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois received other Brethren coming directly west from the Beaver River, off the Ohio just outside Pittsburgh. Other northern Pennsylvania Brethren used the old Shamokin Trail, which followed the West Branch of the Susquehanna River (to St. Marys / Dubois), possibly going through Warren to Erie Pennsylvania. These routes of migration have not been ascertained by me yet -- but in Ohio, those farther south basically are followed by U.S. 30 in the middle of the state. Farther north the migration route from the Beaver is along Ohio 14 to the Lakeshore and follows U.S. 6 and U.S. 20 west.

Some Canada Brethren used the lake shore roads, coming down from Niagara through Cleveland. Others crossed Ontario to Detroit, then followed the old Indian Trail that ran from Fort Detroit to Fort Dearborn (Chicago), now U.S. 12. Still others went to Georgian Bay, and came by water, down Lake Michigan to the Wisconsin and Illinois shores.

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Shoaf's and related families

Entries: 16281 **Updated:** Mon Jun 3 03:19:54 2002
Contact: Cole Shoaf **blazerman1@email.msn.com**

- *ID:* I78997100
- *Name:* George William MOBLEY
- *Given Name:* George William
- *Surname:* Mobley
- *Sex:* M
- *Birth:* 22 May 1903 in White Co, IL
- *Death:* 18 Nov 1978 in Carmi Hospital, Carmi, IL
- *Burial:* Powell Cem, White Co, IL

Father: Jos. Ed b: 5 Mar 1866 in Emma Twp, White Co, IL
Mother: Susan b: 14 Mar 1884 in Gallatin Co, IL

Marriage 1 b: 10 Dec 1906 in IL

- *Married:* 17 Dec 1924 in Carmi, White Co, IL

Children

1. Ed. Martin b: Living Individual, details withhel m. Marcia Ann Walker
2. Dreda Eleen b: Living Individual, details withhel Wayman Phillips
3. Lethia Jane b: Living Individual, details withhel Geo Porter
4. Living Bernard Austin

Sources:

1. Title: GEDCOM file imported on 21 Aug 1999.
2. Title: GEDCOM file imported on 22 Aug 1999.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE UPPER AND LOWER BLUE LICKS
THE BATTLE OF BLUE LICKS

A party of men from Pennsylvania in Westmoreland County discovered the Upper Blue Licks in July, 1773. Major John Finley, Colonel James Perry, and Joshua Archer were members of the party. Later the same party found another lick down the river which they called the Lower Blue Licks. They surveyed several tracts of land, and on their return to Pennsylvania they drew lots for the parcels and John Finley drew the tracts with the Licks on it. After the Revolutionary War he came out and settled on it.

These springs have been known to the whites since 1773 and for the first forty years of that time furnished much of the salt for middle and northeast Kentucky.

According to estimates the grand total of salt which has flowed off these springs in a liquid state since first discovered is 876,000 bushels or 21,900 tons, and yet the water still flows on without any dimunition in its saltiness.

These springs had for years been known to the buffalo, deer, and other animals, for here for years they had come to lick the salt deposited on the earth after the water had flown off or evaporated. The Indians also knew it well and used it for a like purpose. The Indian War Road which ran from the South to the North and which crossed the Old Warrior's path in his journey to Kentucky was used by these tribes from the South in traveling to and from these springs where they met their red brethren, the Wyandots, Shawness, and other tribes from the North who traveled a similar road on like expeditions.

It was about a half mile north of the Lower Blue Licks, on the site of the old State Road, that one of the most memorable battles in the history of Kentucky occurred on the 17th day of August, 1782,

The Kentuckians who fought this battle left Bryans Station on the afternoon of the 18th and consisted from the best available evidence of not less than one hundred sixty-six and not more than one hundred eighty-two men.

Colonel Daniel Boone, accompanied by his youngest son, headed a strong party from Boonesboro; Colonel Stephen Trigg, for whom Trigg County was afterwards named, brought up a force from the neighborhood of Harrodsburg, and Colonel John Todd, for whom Todd County was named, commanded some militia from around Lexington. The reason for the assembling of this force was because of some depredations which the Indians had committed at Hoy's Station in Madison County on August 10, 1782, at which time they took two boys prisoners. Nearly a third of the whole number assembled were commissioned officers who, however, took their places in the ranks as common soldiers. Todd and Trigg as senior colonels took command, although their authority seems to have been in a great measure nominal.

A tumultuous consultation, in which everyone seems to have had a voice, terminated in a deliberate resolution to pursue the enemy without delay, although it was known that General Benjamin Logan had collected a strong force in Lincoln and would join them at least within twenty-four hours. It was also distinctly understood at the time the decision was reached that the enemy was at least double, and, according to Girty's statement, more than triple their own number. It was seen that their trail was broad and obvious and even some indications of a tardiness and willingness to be pursued, had been observed by their scouts, who had been sent out to reconnoiter, and from which it might reasonably be inferred that they could halt on their way, or at least march so leisurely, as to permit them to wait for the aid of Logan. Yet so keen was the ardor of officers and soldiers, that all of these obvious reasons were overlooked, and on the afternoon of the 18th of August, the line of march was taken up, and the pursuit urged with that precipitate courage which has so often been fatal to Kentuckians.

The Indians had followed the Buffalo Trace through this county; as if to render their trail still more evident, they had chopped many of the trees on each side of the road with their hatchets. These strong indications of tardiness in retreat, made some impression upon the cool and calculating mind of Boone; but it was

to late to advise retreat. They camped that night in the woods, and on the following day reached the fatal boundary of their pursuit. At the Lower Blue Licks, for the first time since the pursuit commenced, they came within sight of the enemy. As the whites reached the banks of the Licking they saw a number of Indians ascending the rocky ridge on the other side.

At the appearance of the Kentuckians the Indians halted upon the other side, gazed at them for a few moments in silence, and leisurely disappeared over the top of the hill. A halt immediately ensued. A dozen or twenty officers met in front of the ranks and entered into consultation; the wild and lonely aspect of the country around them, their distance from any point of support, with the uncertainty of their being in the presence of a superior enemy, seems to have inspired a portion of seriousness, bordering on awe. All eyes were now turned on Boone, the Old Warrior, and Colonel Todd asked his opinion of what should be done. The veteran woodsman, with his uusual unmoved gravity, replied in effect:

That their situation was not only delicate but critical; that the force which opposed them was evidently numerous and ready for battle, as might be seen by the leisurely retreat of the few Indians who had appeared upon the crest of the hill; that he was well acquainted with the ground in the neighborhood of the Lick, and was apprehensive that an ambuscade was formed at a distance of a mile in advance, where two ravines, one upon each side of the ridge ran in such a manner that a concealed enemy might assail them at once both in front and flank, before they were apprised of the danger.

That therefore due to these conditions it would be proper to do one of two things. Either to await the arrival of Logan, who was now undoubtedly on his march to join them, or if determined to attack without delay, that one-half of their number should march up the river, which there bends in an elliptical form, cross at the rapids and fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the other division attacked in front. At any rate he strongly urged the necessity of reconnoitering the ground before the main body crossed the river.

Such was the counsel of the veteran woodsman and Indian

fighter, and though his counsel should have been followed, no measure could have been more disastrous than that which was adopted. Yet it may be doubted if anything short of an immediate retreat upon Logan could have saved this gallant company from the fate which they encountered. If they had divided their force, the enemy, as in Estill's case, might have overwhelmed them in detail; if they remained where they were without advancing the enemy was certain of success. They had committed a serious error at first in not waiting for Logan, and nothing short of a retreat which would have been considered disgraceful, could now repair it.

Boone was heard in silence and with deep emotion. Some wanted to adopt the first plan; others preferred the second, and the discussion threatened to be drawn at great length, when the boiling ardor of Major McGary, who could never endure the presence of the enemy without instant battle and whose courage, valor and bravery in the face of the enemy could never be doubted, stimulated him to an act which nearly proved destructive to his country.

He suddenly interrupted the consultation with a loud whoop of enthusiasm, resembling the war cry of the Indians, and mounting, spurred his horse into Licking, waved his hat over his head and shouted aloud: "Let all who are not cowards follow me". The words and the action together produced electrical effect. The mounted men dashed tumultuously into the river, each striving to be foremost. The footmen were mingled with them in one rolling and irregular mass.

No order was given and none observed. They struggled through a deep ford as well as they could, Major McGary leading the van, closely followed by Major Harlan and McBride. With the same rapidity they ascended the ridge, which had by the trampling of buffalo foragers been stripped of all vegetation, with the exception of a few dwarfish cedars, and which was rendered more desolate in appearance by the multitude of rocks, blackened by the sun, which were spread over its surface. Upon reaching the top of the ridge, they followed the Buffalo Trace with the same precipitate ardor; Todd and Trigg in the rear; McGary, Harlan, McBride and Boone in front. No scouts were sent in advance nor explored

on the flank; officers and soldiers seemed alike determined by the contagious example of a single man, who though fearless, made a rash display of courage and a complete lack of judgment.

Suddenly the van halted. They reached the spot mentioned by Boone, where the two ravines head on each side of the ridge, and here a body of Indians presented themselves and immdiately attacked the van. McGary's party instantly returned the fire, but under great disadvantage as they were upon a bare and exposed ridge while the Indians were in a bushy ravine. The center and rear, ignorant of the ground, hurried up to the assistance of the van but were soon stopped by a terrible fire from the ravine which flanked them. They found themselves enclosed as if in the wings of a net, destitute of proper shelter, while the enemy were in a great measure covered from their fire. Still, however, in the face of the fire they maintained their ground and the action became warm and bloody. The parties gradually closed, the Indians emerged from the ravines, and the fire became mutually destructive and deadly. The officers suffered dreadfully as Todd and Trigg in the rear and Harlan, McBride, and young Boone in front, were already down, mortally wounded, if not instantly killed.

The Indians gradually extended their line to turn the right of the Kentuckians and cut off their retreat. This was quickly perceived by the weight of the fire from that quarter, and the rear instantly fell back in disorder, in an attempt to rush through their only opening to the river. This movement quickly communicated itself to the van and a hurried retreat became general. The Indians seizing this advantage sprang forward in pursuit, and falling upon them with their tomahawks made a cruel slaughter. From the hills to the river the terrain was covered with the dead and dying. The horsemen generally escaped, but the foot, particularly the van, which had advanced farthest within the wings of the net, were almost terribly aninhilated. Colonel Boone after witnessing the death of his beloved son and many of his dearest friends, found himself almost entirely surrounded at the very commencement of the retreat as several hundred Indians were between him and the ford.

Being intimately acquainted with the terrain, but for which he would never have escaped, he, together with a few friends, dashed into the ravine which the Indians had occupied, but which most of them had now left to join in the pursuit. After sustaining one or two heavy fires, and baffling one or two small parties who pursued him for a short distance, he crossed the river below the ford, and entering the woods at a point where there was no pursuit, returned by a circuitous route, through Bath County, to Bryans Station. In the meantime the great mass of the victors and vanquished crowded the banks of the ford.

The slaughter on the bank and in the river was great. The ford was crowded with horsemen and footmen and Indians all mingled together. Some were compelled to seek a passage above by swimming; some who could not swim were overtaken and slaughtered on the very edge of the water.

It is on many circumstances such as this that men strongly suspected of cowardice display courage, coolness and presence of mind equally noble and unexpected. A man by the name of Netherland being finely mounted had crossed the river in safety accompanied by about a dozen horsemen, who having placed the river between them and the enemy were disposed to continue their flight without regard to the safety of those who were on foot and still struggling in the current. Netherland on reaching a place of safety instantly checked his horse, and in a loud and commanding voice called upon his companions to halt, fire upon the Indians, and save those still struggling in the water. The party of horsemen instantly obeyed his command, and facing about, poured a concentrated and deadly fire upon the foremost of the pursuers. The enemy fell back from the opposite bank, thereby giving time for the harrassed and miserable footmen to cross in safety, but the check was but momentary as Indians were crossing the river in great numbers both above and below the ford, and the flight again became general. Most of those on foot left the great Buffalo Trace and plunging into the thickets and cane brakes made their perilous way by circuitous routes to safety at Bryan's Station.

This early battle has been the cause for endless discussion and

controversy among historians familiar with the early history of Kentucky, and at least four different versions of it have been related or given, none of which are in agreement with either or any of the other, and all of which disagree as to the exact facts and as to the number of men participating in the battle and all of which versions have been investigated and studied. The above version is that substanially given in McClung's **Sketches of Western Adventure,** the author of which at the time it was written had the advantage of counselling with many of the survivors of the battle, and it appears to conform more fully to the facts, particularly when considered in the light of the topography of the terrain upon which it was fought.

Not less than sixty, or about one-third of those engaged, fell upon the field, one-fourth of whom were commissioned officers, among whom were Colonel John Todd, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Trigg, Major Silas Harlan, Major Edmund Bulger, Captain William McBride, John Bulger, Joseph Lindsay, Clough Overton, John Kennedy, James Graham, William Stuart, John Wilson, Israel Boone, and Andrew McConnell, all noble men who had attained a position of importance in the early history of the state. The result was tragic to the state, almost comparable to the defeat of Custer at the Little Big Horn, which would have been avoided had they taken the advice of Boone and withdrawn to a more secure position to await the arrival of Logan with his reinforcements, but for this and the precipitate action of an officer on this field, these noble men and others would not have made here their last fight and slept their last sleep.

A portion of those surviving the battle retreated up Licking River until they came to the Mouth of Slate Creek, from here they went up Slate to its head, and thence across to Boonesboro. The night of the battle after the defeat, Daniel Boone lay concealed in the roots of a tree at the head of a hollow near what was later Dudley Lockridge's residence near the town of Sharpsburg and Captain Fleming, who had his thigh broken in the battle, lay all night at the pond near what was later the residence of Thomas Knight in

the town of Sharpsburg, and from thence on, this pond was known as Fleming's Pond for many years. The next morning Boone started in the direction of Little Mountain, now Mt. Sterling, and struck the trail of Captain Fleming, and following it overtook him near Mt. Sterling and together they proceeded on to Boonesboro.

COLLINS' HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF KENTUCKY.

HISTORY

OF

KENTUCKY:

BY THE LATE LEWIS COLLINS,
Judge of the Mason County Court.

REVISED, ENLARGED FOUR-FOLD, AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE YEAR 1874,
BY HIS SON,
RICHARD H. COLLINS, A.M., LL.B.

EMBRACING

PRE-HISTORIC, ANNALS FOR 331 YEARS, OUTLINE, AND BY COUNTIES, STATISTICS, ANTIQUITIES AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES, GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTIONS, SKETCHES OF THE COURT OF APPEALS, THE CHURCHES, FREEMASONRY, ODD FELLOWSHIP, AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, INCIDENTS OF PIONEER LIFE, AND NEARLY FIVE HUNDRED BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF DISTINGUISHED PIONEERS, SOLDIERS, STATESMEN, JURISTS, LAWYERS, SURGEONS, DIVINES, MERCHANTS, HISTORIANS, EDITORS, ARTISTS, ETC., ETC.

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Hist. of Ky - Collins Vol I 1874

Nov. 4, 1811, after his final retirement from congress, the speaker of the house presented his petition, setting forth his prosecution and conviction under the sedition law (see "State Trials of the United States"), that he had suffered imprisonment, and been made to pay the sum of $1,060.90, and that he wished the money refunded. It was not until 18 years after his death, on July 4, 1840, a law was passed, paying to his heirs the specified sum, with interest from Feb., 1799. It was considered by congress that the fine was paid under a *void law*, and on principle should be refunded.

In 1811–12, Col. Lyon was employed by the U. S. war department to build gun-boats for the war with England, but he became bankrupt from the speculation. In 1820, he was appointed by President Monroe a factor among the Cherokee Indians in Arkansas; and when that territory was organized in 1822, was elected the first delegate to congress, but did not live to take his seat. His remains were interred at Eddyville. His sons-in-law removed, in 1802, to the Illinois country, were repeatedly members of the Indiana territorial and of the Illinois state legislatures, of the constitutional convention, county judge, and otherwise honored and useful. His son Matthew (father of Gen. H. B. Lyon), represented Caldwell county for two years in the Ky. legislature, 1834 and '35, and died young, in 1840. Of his son Chittenden, see below.

Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, said of Matthew Lyon: "He possessed some talent, and was always, during a long and important life, an excessively warm and enthusiastic partisan in politics. He was a droll composition. His leading trait of character was his zeal and enthusiasm, almost to madness itself, in any cause he espoused. He never seemed to act coolly and deliberately, but always in a tumult and bustle—as if he were in a house on fire, and was hurrying to get out. His Irish impulses were honest, and always on the side of human freedom; this covered his excessive zeal."

Col. CHITTENDEN LYON, after whom Lyon county was named, was the oldest son of Col. Matthew Lyon above; represented Caldwell county in the Ky. legislature, in 1822, '23, and '24, and the district in congress for eight years, 1827–35. He was a man of prodigious physical proportions, being 6½ feet high in his stockings, and weighing 350 pounds. He was the champion fighter of that whole region, in his day. In 1825, Col. Lyon was engaged in a very exciting contest for a seat in the state senate, in which he was defeated by Dickson Given; and some years later, in a no less exciting race for congress, in which Linn Boyd was his *un*successful competitor. During one of these contests, Andrew (or Andy) Duncan—a man of like powerful frame and strength, and nearly as large, and his equal in personal prowess, for both were as game as Old Hickory himself—proposed to Col. Lyon, to whom he was bitterly opposed, that he would vote for him at the election, if he (Lyon) "would go out on fair ground, and fight him a fair old-fashioned Kentucky fist fight." Col. Lyon had braved too many storms, and steered too many flat and keel-boats over dangerous shoals, to be backed down by so fair a proposition! So, at it they went—Duncan quite confident that he could give the colonel a good trouncing. No easy task, it proved. The fight was long and bloody, and neither showed signs of relinquishing the field or even whispering "hold, enough." At last, friends parted them, and called it a drawn battle. The contestants washed, took a drink together of old Robertson whisky (of which they were both fond), shook hands, and made friends for the occasion, as they were personally. Duncan kept his part of the contract, and gave a hearty vote for his jolly competitor in the square stand-up fight.

MADISON COUNTY.

MADISON was a county of Virginia, one of nine established by the general assembly of that state out of Kentucky county, afterwards called Kentucky district, before the separation of Kentucky, and her admission into the Union, June 1, 1792; it was formed (the 7th in order) in 1785, out of part of Lincoln co., and named in honor of James Madison, afterward president of the United States. It is situated in the eastern middle portion of the state, on the waters of Kentucky river, which is its boundary line on the N., N. E., and N. W.; and is bounded N. by Fayette and Clark, E. by Estill, S. by Jackson and Rockcastle, and W. by Garrard and Jessamine. It is much the largest of the bluegrass counties, with a diversified surface—the western quite broken and hilly, the central generally undulating; the eastern lies well, but the soil is not so rich and productive as the other portions. The great business of the county has gradually settled into stock-raising, the production of tobacco and hemp which were once leading crops having almost entirely ceased. In 1870, Madison was the 2d largest cattle producing county, the 5th in hogs, and the 4th in corn. The principal streams of the county are Drowning, Muddy, Otter, Tate, and Silver creeks, all named by Daniel Boone, and flowing into Kentucky river.

Towns.—Richmond is the county seat—first settled by John Miller in 1785, but not incorporated until 1809, although *Milford*, the original county seat, was "established" in 1789; it is 50 miles from Frankfort, and 26 S. E. of Lexington; is the terminus of the Richmond branch of the Louisville and Nashville railroad, by which it is distant from Louisville 138 miles, and 34 miles from the main S. E. line or Knoxville branch of that railroad. It is a handsome town, with a thriving, wealthy, and intelligent population of 1,629 in 1870, and steadily increasing. Besides one of the handsomest court houses in the state, it contains 6 churches (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Reformed or Christian, Roman Catholic, and African), a female academy, 12 lawyers, 6 doctors, 2 hotels, 3 National banks, a newspaper (the Kentucky *Register*), and quite a number of business houses. *Kirksville*, 10 miles S. W. of Richmond; population about 200. *Kingston*, 7 miles S.; population 200. *Waco*, 8½ miles E., and *Elliston*, adjoining; population of both, 300. *Rogersville*, *Speedwell*, *Union*, *Doylesville*, *Foxtown*, and *Stringtown*, are small places. *Berea*, 15 miles S. of Richmond, population about 200, is the seat of a flourishing academy or college, attended by children of both sexes, white and black. *Boonesborough*, which was established by the legislature of Virginia in 1779 as a town, and so lately as 1810 had 68 inhabitants, has almost disappeared as a village.

STATISTICS OF MADISON COUNTY.

When formed.....See page 26	Tobacco, hay, corn, wheat...pages 266, 268
Population, from 1790 to 1870.....p. 258	Horses, mules, cattle, hogs.....page 268
" whites and colored.....p. 260	Taxable property, in 1846 and 1870...p. 270
" towns.....p. 262	Land—No. of acres, and value of....p. 270
" white males over 21.....p. 266	Latitude and longitude.....p. 257
" children bet. 6 and 20 yrs. p. 266	Distinguished citizens.....see Index.

MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE FROM MADISON COUNTY, SINCE 1815.

Senate.—Thos. Kennedy, 1792; Humphrey Jones, 1814–22; Thos. C. Howard, 1822–26; Archibald Woods, 1826–29; Robert Miller, 1829, '34–38; Jas. Dejarnett,

1830–34; Chas. J. Walker, 1838–42; Wm. Chenault, 1842–46; John Speed Smith, 1846–50; Reuben Munday, 1851–55; David Irvine, 1855–59· E. W. Turner, 1873–77.

House of Representatives.—Wm. Williams, W. Kerley, 1815; Samuel South, 1815, '16, '17; David C. Irvine, 1816; Archibald Woods, 1816, '17, '20, '24; John Tribble, 1817; Jos. Barnett, Josiah Phelps, 1818; Thos. C. Howard, 1818, '19, '20, '21; Wm. Rodes, 1819; John Speed Smith, 1819, '27, '30, '39, '41, '45; Jas. Stone, 1820, '21; Jas. Dejarnett, 1821, '22; Wm. McClanahan, 1822; Wm. Chenault, 1822, '40; Daniel Breck, 1824, '25, '26, '27, '34; Squire Turner, 1824, '25, '26, '30, '31, '39; David Bruton, 1825; Robert Harris, 1826, '28; Jos. Turner, 1827; Wm. H. Caperton, 1828; Abner G. Daniel, 1828, '29, '31; Humphrey Jones, 1829; Clifton Rodes, 1829, '30; Wm. R. Letcher, 1831; John White, Jos. Collins, 1832; Edmund L. Shackleford, Andrew Crews, 1833; Chas. J. Walker, 1834; Caldwell Campbell, 1835; Cassius M. Clay, 1835, '37; Thos. J. Gentry, 1836; John S. Busby, 1836, '37; Wm. T. Fox, Thos. Royston, 1838; Jefferson Williams, 1840; Reuben Munday, 1841; Samuel M. Fox, Nicholas Hocker, 1842; Abner Oldham, 1843; Thos. J. Gentry, 1843, died Feb. 5, 1844, succeeded by Thompson Burnam; Robert R. Harris, Richard Runyon, 1844; Salem Wallace, 1845; David Irvine, David Martin, 1846; Madison Boulware, 1847; Cyrus Turner, 1847, '48; Waller Chenault, 1848; Leland D. Maupin, Palestine P. Ballard, 1849; Wm. Harris, Wm. T. Terrill, 1850; Barnett C. Moran, 1851–53; Curtis F. Burnam, 1851–53, '59–63; Jas. Richardson, Henry T. Allison, 1853–55; Wm. M. Miller, Coleman Covington, 1855–57; Curtis Field, jr., Claiborne W. White, 1857–59; Wm. S. Neale, 1859–61, '63–65; George W. Ballew, 1865–67, seat declared vacant because of military interference, Dec., 1865, succeeded by A. J. Mershon, 1865–67; Andrew T. Chenault, 1867–69; Jas. B. McCreary, 1869–75 (who was speaker, 1871–75;) Robert E. Little, 1875–77. [*See page* 776.]

Centenarians.—James Byrum died in Madison county, in 1871, aged 107 years, having been born in Hillsboro, North Carolina, in 1764; came to Ky. about 1793; was never sick in his life. Enos Hendren, another citizen of Madison, and native of North Carolina, who frequently was at work in his garden during the last year of his life, died Aug. 12, 1872, aged 108 years. The latter had been a member of the Baptist church for 90 years, and the former for nearly 80 years. Daniel Purcell died March, 1873, aged 105.

Springs.—White sulphur springs are numerous in Madison county; one of superior quality, 14 miles E. of Richmond, was resorted to by invalids prior to the late civil war. There is a black sulphur spring, highly impregnated with salt, at or near Boonesborough; this was a great resort of buffalo, deer, and other animals, when Kentucky was first explored.

Of Mounds, several are found in Madison county; one was partially explored, over thirty years ago, but no relics discovered. A large fire must have been burned near the base, before the mound was reared, as the coals were so well preserved as to show clearly the wood from which they were burned.

Shot Iron Ore, or iron gravel, is mixed with the soil, about half way between Richmond and Elliston, and around the latter place.

The Black Limestone Shale, underlying the black slate, was broken up and used to metal or macadamize several miles of the Richmond and Irvine turnpike—that part between the Kentucky river and Muddy creek. It made a good dry solid road.

There are some *Bituminous Coal-fields* about 15 miles E. of Richmond, which have been but little worked; also, in the southern part of the county, in the Big Hills, where Rock Lick and Roundstone creeks take their rise.

Hydraulic Stone, of superior quality, is abundant in the bluffs of the Kentucky river, near the mouth of Red river.

A Petrified Indian was exhumed, when digging out a spring on the farm of H. P. Young, on Tate's creek, in Madison county, in 1872.

The Earliest White Visitor to the country east of what is now Madison county was John Findlay (generally written Finley); who, in 1767, on an expedition with the double purpose of hunting and of trading with the Indians, came along a route called the warriors' road or path (it is delineated on the map in Filson's Kentucky, published in 1784 at Wilmington, Delaware) "leading from the Cumberland ford, along the broken country lying on the eastern branch of the Kentucky river, and so across the Licking river, toward the mouth of the Scioto." This route was much frequented by the Indian tribes, in passing northward or southward through Kentucky, whether for purposes of hunting or war. No permanent village of the modern Indians was ever known in Kentucky—indeed none at all, except that on the high ground of the Kentucky bank of the Ohio river, immediately opposite the mouth of the Scioto river, to which some French traders and Shawnee Indians fled for refuge from a remarkable flood which overflowed all their town on the Ohio side. As late as 1773, while the principal town was on the Ohio side, this temporary settlement continued; but before 1778 it had entirely disappeared, by the act of the Indians themselves.

Two years later, Findlay conducted Daniel Boone, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Mooney (or Monay), and Wm. Cool, in 38 days from their homes on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, to a spot "on Red river, the northernmost branch of Kentucky river, where John Findlay had formerly been trading with the Indians, and where, on June 7, 1769, from the top of an eminence they saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky."* This was probably 20 miles directly east of Madison county, in what is now Estill county; and the party continued "hunting with great success, until Dec. 22, 1769," when as Boone and Stewart rambled on the banks of the Kentucky river (probably within the present county of Madison), a company of Indians rushed out of a thick canebrake and made them prisoners. They made their escape, after seven days captivity and confinement, and returned to their camp on Red river—which they found plundered, and their comrades "dispersed or gone home." Findlay made his way back to the settlements (see under Josh Bell county), probably taking Holden, Mooney, and Cool with him. Shortly after, Stewart was killed by the Indians; but not until Squire Boone and another adventurer had found their way from North Carolina to his brother's camp in the cane land. The tragic death of Stewart frightened the unknown new comer, and he "returned home by himself." The brothers were thus left alone in the howling wilderness. On the 1st of May, 1770, Squire Boone "returned home for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving Daniel alone—without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog He passed a few days uncomfortably; the idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on his account, would have disposed him to melancholy, if he had further indulged the thought."† While thus alone, in May, 1770, he wandered to the hills that skirted the Ohio river, and for the first time looked down upon the majestic stream that formed the great northern and western boundary of the mighty state he was then exploring. On the 27th of July, Squire Boone returned, with horses and ammunition; and the brothers, "monarchs of all they surveyed," hunted through and explored the country until March, 1771, when they made their way back to their North Carolina homes.

Daniel Boone, then—if not the first white visitor, as he became in 1775 the first permanent settler—was one of the six explorers who first trod the soil of Madison county. Of the eight earliest visitors, he and his brother Squire alone became pioneer settlers. [To these, may possibly be added Christopher Gist (see p. 16, vol. i,—as first of all. His route is too obscure, to be certain.]

The Second Visitors to Madison county were part of the McAfee company; who, during Monday and Tuesday, Aug. 2d and 3d, 1773, passed up the Kentucky river, on the south side, within two miles of the river, and crossed the Cumberland mountain into Powell's valley, Va.—returning from their surveys at Frankfort, and in Anderson and Mercer counties. They were James, George, and Robert McAfee, and Samuel Adams.‡

March to May, 1775.—For an account of Capt. Wm. Twetty's company, the attack on them by Indians, their arrival and that of Col. Richard Henderson's company at Boonesborough, the opening of the land office, and meeting of the people of Transylvania, see Annals of Kentucky, page 18, Vol. I. The following is additional, and more full:

By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in the province of New York, Nov. 5, 1768,‖ the Six Nations of Indians (Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas), with certain "dependent tribes" (Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, and others) dwelling north of the Ohio river—who also claimed

* Boone's Autobiography, in Filson's Kentucky. † Same.
‡ MS. General and Natural History of Kentucky, by Gen. Robert B. McAfee, 1806.
‖ See history and full text of the Treaty, Butler's Ky., 2d. ed., 1836, pp. 472–488.

and exercised an interest in and ownership over the hunting grounds now included in the state of Kentucky—ceded to the King of Great Britain the lands lying back of the British settlements, and east and south of the Ohio river, as far west as the Cherokee or Hogohege [*i. e.* Tennessee] river.

The Treaty of Hard Labor, in South Carolina, with the Cherokee Indians, made Oct. 14, 1768, just prior to that of Fort Stanwix, had surrendered to them whatever territory west of the Kanawha river was claimed to have been acquired of the northern tribes.

The Treaty of Lochaber, in South Carolina, Oct. 18, 1770, with the same Indians, made more definite the treaty of Hard Labor; and for the second time determined that the territory south of the Ohio and west of the Kanawha belonged to the Cherokee Indians, and was still their hunting grounds.

Thus stood matters at the time of the tremendous and decisive battle of the "Point," or Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha river, Virginia, Oct. 10, 1774. Lord Dunmore, colonial governor of Virginia, by proclamation, Jan, 1775, stated that "the Shawnees, to remove all ground of future quarrel, have agreed not to hunt on this side of the Ohio," etc.

Patrick Henry * (the great Virginia orator, afterwards governor of that state), early in 1774, entered into an arrangement with Hon. Wm. Byrd, John Page, Esq., and Col. Wm. Christian, all of Virginia, for the purpose of purchasing from the Cherokees "some of their land on the waters of their own river in Virginia." They accordingly sent an agent, Mr. Kennedy, and found them disposed to treat upon the subject. A change of public affairs, of an imminent character, made the great orator abandon the project—for which in his deposition he gives his reasons as follows:

"Not long after this, and before any treaty was resolved on, the troubles with Great Britain seemed to threaten serious consequences; and this deponent became a member of the first Virginia convention, and a member of the first continental congress, upon which he determined with himself to disclaim all concern and connection with Indian purchases, for the reasons following: that is to say, he was informed, shortly after his arrival in congress, of many purchases of Indian lands, shares in most or all of which were offered to this deponent, and constantly refused by him, because of the enormity of the extent to which the bounds of those purchases were carried; that disputes had arisen on the subject of these purchases; and that this deponent, being a member of congress and convention, conceived it improper for him to be concerned as a party in any of these partnerships, on which it was probable he might decide as a judge. He was farther fixed in his determination not to be concerned in any Indian purchases whatever, on the prospect of the present war, by which the sovereignty and right of disposal of the soil of America would probably be claimed by the American states."

The Transylvania Company's is the only one of the purchases thus alluded to which bears upon the history of Kentucky. In the fall of 1774, nine gentlemen from Granville and adjoining counties, in North Carolina—Col. or Judge Richard Henderson (see biographical sketch under Henderson county), John Luttrell, Nathaniel Hart, Thomas Hart, David Hart, Wm. Johnston, John Williams, James Hogg, and Leonard Hendley Bullock—made preliminary arrangements, at the Sycamore shoals on the Watauga river, with the Overhill Cherokee Indians for a treaty, which was consummated on March 17, 1775, at the residence of Col. Chas. Robertson (which was probably in a fort), on the Watauga river, a tributary of the Holston river, in what is now northeastern Tennessee. The treaty lasted about twenty days;† and was executed by Oconistoto, chief warrior and first representative of the Cherokee nation of Indians, Attacullacullah (or the Little Carpenter), and Savanooko or Coronoh, prominent chiefs. For £10,000 lawful money of Great Britain, they deeded, by a remarkable document, all the territory lying between the Cumberland river and the "Kentucky, Chenoca, or what by the English is

* See Patrick Henry's Deposition, June 4, 1777.

† Narrative of Hon. Felix Walker, who was present as one of Capt. Twetty's company, on his way to Kentucky; he was afterwards a member of congress from North Carolina.

called *Louisa** river;" up the latter and its most northwardly branch, thence to the top ridge of Powell's mountain, thence to the head spring of the most southwardly branch of the Cumberland river, thence down said river to its mouth, and up the Ohio river to the mouth of the Kentucky—a magnificent territory of not less than 17,000,000 acres.

The First Road or Trace, always known as Boone's trace, was cut, from the Long island on Holston river, not far from the place of treaty, to Boonesborough, on the Kentucky river, at this time—the proprietors of Transylvania having bargained with Daniel Boone to go before and open this road. Capt. Twetty's company of 8, joined that of Col. Boone (which included Squire Boone, Col. Richard Callaway, John Kennedy, and 18 others), making 30 in all, at Long island, and, March 10, 1775, started—marking the track with hatchets until they reached Rockcastle river. Thence, for 20 miles, they had to cut their way through a country entirely covered with dead brush. The next 30 miles were "through thick cane and reed; and as the cane ceased, they began to discover the pleasing and rapturous appearance of the plains of Kentucky. A new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to their view! So rich a soil they had never seen before—covered with clover in full bloom. The woods were abounding with wild game—turkeys so numerous that it might be said they appeared but one flock, universally scattered in the woods. It appeared that nature, in the profusion of her bounty, had spread a feast for all that lived, both for the animal and rational world. A sight so delightful to their view and so grateful to their feelings, almost inclined them in transport to *kiss the soil* of Kentucky—in imitation of Columbus, as he hailed and saluted the sand on his first setting foot on the shores of America."†

The Disasters of this first attempt to open a road to Louisa or Cantuckey—as the Journal of Col. Richard Henderson designated the new territory, over which he and others were about to establish the government of the colony of Transylvania—were discouraging to the last extent. The Indians were "upon the war path," guarding the very threshold of their loved hunting ground—apparently realizing that the companies who were coming in for an "armed occupation" of their beautiful land would never voluntarily relinquish so capital a prize.

The First Contest between the whites and Indians, on Kentucky soil, occurred on Saturday morning, March 25th, 1775, in what is now Madison co., about 15 miles south of the Kentucky river. Unconscious of the near approach of danger, the men under Col. Boone lay in their camp asleep, unguarded, and without any sentinels to warn of approaching danger. The attack was sudden, about half an hour before day; the first notice, by a volley of rifles discharged at the sleepers around the camp fires. The contest was soon over. The Indians were not in force sufficient to overpower the whites, and having dispersed part of them, did not follow up their advantage—wisely concluding that although the suddenness of the attack had given a decided advantage, the attacked party would immediately rally, as they did, and be too formidable for them. Capt. Wm. Twetty was shot in both knees, and died on Tuesday, March 28th—the first death of a class of leading or prominent men, of whom so many fell victims to the Indian hate during the first eight years of the settling of Kentucky, culminating in the battle of the Blue Licks, Aug. 18, 1782, when the leaders were mowed down by the score. The Indians selected the leaders as the first object of an attack, realizing that nothing so contributed to the fright that precedes defeat as the loss of the directing head—their own universal experience, which they applied with unvarying wisdom. Besides the fatal wounds to Capt. Twetty, his body servant, a black man, was killed, and Felix Walker dangerously wounded. Some of the party did not recover from the panic; but following the trace they had just helped to make, continued their flight to the settlements in Virginia. Walker could not be removed without danger of instant death, and several‡ remained with him at the same place for 12 days—when, carrying him in a litter between two horses, they proceeded to the Kentucky river, at the mouth of Otter creek; and selecting "a plain on the south side, wherein was a lick

* So named by Dr. Thomas Walker, on his first visit in 1747.

† Hon. Felix Walker's Narrative. ‡ See account of Twetty's fort, page 520.

with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated, they made a station and called it Boonesborough."*

On the 27th of March, only a few miles distant from the first attack, and near the Louisa (Kentucky) river, the same body of Indians fired on a camp of six men, killing Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPheeters; the other four, one a son of Samuel Tate, made their escape.

As the First Official Report (if that expression be not dignifying overmuch so plain a letter) of any thing like a fight with weapons upon Kentucky soil, and as the earliest in date which has been preserved of the few letters written in a life nine-tenths of a century long, the following from Daniel Boone,† accompanied with a *fac simile* of his signature, will be read with interest. On the outside, it was addressed to "Col. Richard Henderson—these with care." With the exception of the words *sculped* and *flusterate*, the bad spelling has been corrected. [For a *fac simile* copy of an entire letter from Col. Boone, written in 1809, when 78 years old, see under Boone county, *ante*. He was just 44, when the following was written:]

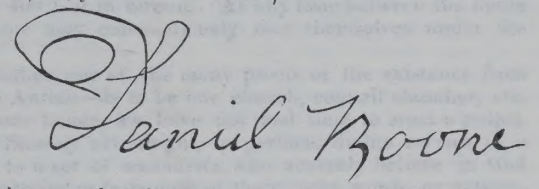
"APRIL THE FIRST, 1775.

"DEAR COLONEL:

"After my compliments to you, I shall acquaint you of our misfortune. On March the 25 a party of Indians fired on my company about half an hour before day, and killed Mr. Twetty and his negro, and wounded Mr. Walker very deeply, but I hope he will recover. On March the 28 as we were hunting for provisions we found Samuel Tate's son, who gave us an account that the Indians fired on their camp on the 27 day. My brother and I went down and found two men killed and sculped, Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPheeters. I have sent a man down to all the lower companies in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter Creek.

"My advice to you, sir, is to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you, and now is the time to flusterate the intentions of the Indians, and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case. This day we start from the battle ground, for the mouth of Otter Creek, where we shall immediately erect a fort, which will be done before you can come or send—then we can send ten men to meet you, if you send for them.

"I am, sir, your most obedient,



"N. B.—We stood on the ground and guarded our baggage till day, and lost nothing. We have about fifteen miles to Cantuck [Kentucky river] at Otter Creek."

From the "Journal of an Expedition to Cantuckey in 1775," by Col. Richard Henderson, of North Carolina (see biographical sketch under Henderson county), the following extracts are made:

1775, Monday, March 20. Having finished my treaty with the Indians at Watauga [in S. E. Tennessee], set out for Louisa [Kentucky]

Thursday, 30th. Arrived at Capt. Martin's, in Powell's Valley.

Friday, 31st. Employed in making a house to secure our wagons, as we could not possibly clear the way any farther.

Saturday, 1st April. Employed in making ready for packing [*i. e.*, loading horses with the baggage].

Sunday, 2d. Mr. Hart came up. [This was Capt. Nathaniel Hart, one of the proprietors of Transylvania, who had made the treaty at Watauga,

* Felix Walker's Narrative. † In the possession of Judge James Hall, in 1835.

and father of Nathaniel Hart, afterwards prominent in Woodford county, and uncle of Mrs. Henry Clay, of Ashland. In 1779, he brought his family to Boonesborough, then built a station at the White Oak spring, about a mile above Boonesborough, in the same bottom of the Kentucky river, and removed to it. In Aug., 1782, while carelessly riding out in the vicinity of the fort, he was killed and scalped by a small party of Indians, who made their escape, although warmly pursued by Col. Boone. His widow survived him about two years.]

Wednesday, April 5th. Started off with our pack-horses.

Friday, 7th. About break of day, it began to snow. About 11 o'clock, received a letter from Mr. John Luttrell's camp [Mr. L. was another of the proprietors of Transylvania], that there were five persons killed by the Indians, on the road to the Cantuckey. Same day, received a letter from Daniel Boone, that his company was fired upon by Indians—who killed two of his men, though he kept the ground and saved the baggage, etc.

Saturday, 8th. Started about 10 o'clock, crossed Cumberland Gap. About four miles from it, met about 40 persons returning from the Cantuckey, on account of the late murders by the Indians. Could prevail on only one to return. Several Virginians who were with us turned back from here.

Monday, 10th. Despatched Capt. Wm. Cocke [afterwards a prominent judge in Tennessee] to the Cantuckey, to inform Capt. Boone that we were on the road.

Sunday, 16th. About 12 o'clock, met James McAfee, with 18 other persons, returning from Cantuckey. [Of these, Robert McAfee, Samuel McAfee, and several others, were persuaded by Col. Henderson to turn back, and go with him to Boonesborough.]

Thursday, April 20, 1775. Arrived at Fort Boone, or the mouth of Otter creek, Cantuckey river—where we were saluted by a running fire of about 25 guns, all that were then at the fort. The men appeared in high spirits and much rejoiced at our arrival.

Friday, April 21st. On viewing the fort, finding the plan not sufficient to admit of building for the reception of our company, and a scarcity of ground suitable for clearing at that advanced season, was at a loss how to proceed. Capt. Boone's company having laid out most of the adjacent good lands into lots of two acres each, and taking as it fell to each individual by lot, was in actual possession and occupying them. After some perplexity, resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick, near the river bank, which would place us at the distance of three hundred yards from the other fort—the only place where we could be of any service to Capt. Boone's men, or *vice versa*.

Saturday, 22d. Finished running off all the lots we could conveniently get, 54 in number. Gave notice of our intention of having them drawn for in the evening. But Mr. Robert McAfee, his brother Samuel, and some more, were not well satisfied whether they would draw or not. They wanted to go down the river Cantuckey, about 50 miles, near Capt. Harrod's settlement—where they had begun improvements and left them on the late alarm. I informed them myself, in the hearing of all attending, that such settlement should not entitle them to lands from us. They appearing much concerned, and at a loss what to do, the lottery was put off till next morning, at sunrise—thereby giving them *time* to come to a resolution.

SUNDAY, APRIL 23D, 1775. Drew lots, and spent the day without public worship. The interval was employed in building a magazine, sowing seeds, etc.

Wednesday, May 3d. Capt. John Floyd arrived here, conducted by one Joe Drake, from a camp on Dick's river, where he had left 30 of his company from Virginia; and said that he was sent by them to know on what terms they might settle our lands. Was much at a loss on account of this gentleman's arrival and message—as he was surveyor of Fincastle county under Col. Preston.

Sunday, May 7th. Went into the woods after a stray horse; staid all night; and on our return, found Capt. Harrod and Col. Thos. Slaughter, from Harrodstown, on Dick's river. It is, in fact, on the head of Salt river, and

not on Dick's river. Col. Slaughter and Capt. Harrod seemed very jocose, and in great good humor.

Monday, 8th. Was very much embarrassed by a dispute between the above. The last mentioned gentleman, with about 40 men, settled on Salt river last year (1774), was driven off [by the Indians], joined the army [under Col. Lewis, that fought the battle of Point Pleasant, 10th October, 1774.] with 30 of his men; and being determined to live in this country, had come down this spring from the Monongahela, accompanied by about 50 men—most of them young men without families. They had come on Harrod's invitation, and had got possession some time before we got here.

After much dispute about the respective claims of Slaughter and Harrod, for lands to be apportioned to their respective companies, in order to divert the debate on this irritating subject, a plan of government by popular representation was proposed.

The reception this plan met with from these gentlemen, as well as Capt. John Floyd, a leading man on Dick's river, gave us great pleasure; and therefore we immediately set about the business.

Appointed Tuesday, May 23d, instant, at Boones orough, for the meeting of delegates, and accordingly made out writings for the different towns [or settlements] to sign. For want of a little obligatory law or some restraining authority, our game soon—nay, as soon as we got here, if not before—was driven off very much. As short a distance as good hunters thought of getting meat was 15 or 20 miles; nay, sometimes they were obliged to go 30 miles—though, by chance, once or twice a week, buffalo was killed within 5 or 6 miles of the camp. The wanton destruction of game gives great uneasiness.

Saturday, May 13th. No scouring of floors, sweeping of yards, or scalding bedsteads, here.

About 50 yards from the river [Kentucky] behind my camp, and a fine spring a little to the west, stands one of the finest elms that perhaps nature has ever produced. The tree is produced on a beautiful plain, surrounded by a turf of fine white clover, forming a green to the very stock. The trunk is about 4 feet through to the first branches, which are about 9 feet from the ground. From thence it regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances as to form the most beautiful tree the imagination can suggest. The diameter of the branches from the extreme end is 100 feet; and every fair day it describes a semicircle on the heavenly green around it, of upwards of 400 feet in circuit. At any time between the hours of 10 and 2, 100 persons may commodiously seat themselves under the branches.

This divine tree—or, rather, one of the many proofs of the existence from all eternity of its Divine Author—is to be our church, council chamber, etc. Having many things on our hands, we have not had time to erect a pulpit, seats, etc.; but hope, by Sunday sevennight, to perform divine service in a public manner, and that to a set of *scoundrels*, who scarcely believe in God or fear a devil—if we are to judge from most of their looks, words, or actions.

Tuesday, May 23d, 1775. Delegates met from every town [1. Harrodsburg; 2. Boiling Spring settlement, 6 miles S. E. of Harrodsburg; 3. St. Asaph's, 1 mile W. of Stanford, in Lincoln county; and 4. Boonesborough]—pleased with their stations, and in great good humor.

Wednesday, May 24th. Convention met (under the divine elm) for the colony of Transylvania; sent a message acquainting me that they had chosen Col. Thomas Slaughter as chairman, and Matthew Jouett, clerk—of which I approved, and went and opened business by a short speech, etc.

Thursday, May 25th. Three of the members waited on the proprietors with a very sensible address, which they asked leave to read; read it; and delivered an answer in return. Business went on. This day four bills were fabricated: 1. For establishing tribunals of justice and for recovery of debts; 2. For establishing a militia; 3. For preventing the destruction of game, etc.; 4. A law concerning fees. The delegates are very good men, and much disposed to serve their country.

Saturday, May 27th. Finished the Convention in good order—every body pleased.

Sunday, 28th May. Divine service, for the first time in Kentucky, was performed by the Rev. John Lythe, of the Church of England. Most of the delegates returned home.

Monday, 5th June. Made out commissions for Harrodsburg, Boiling Spring settlement, and St. Asaph's, both military and civil.

Friday, June 16th, Continue eating meat, *without bread.*

Sunday, June 18th. Michael Stoner, our hunter, not returned; was expected yesterday; *no meat.*

Wednesday, July 12th. Horses being almost worn out, went up the river (Kentucky) in a canoe, to get meat, if possible. Our salt *quite out*—except about a quart which I brought from Harrodsburg. Times a little melancholy; provision very scarce; *no salt*, to enable us to save meat at any distance from us. No accounts or arrival from within; weather very dry; the springs being *scarce*, water was rarely to be gotten. We were not able to raise above 14 or 15 fighting men at one time—unless they were all summoned, which could not easily be done without long notice, they being much dispersed, hunting, etc.

[Reference was made to another "Stitched book, covered with brown paper," beginning July 26, 1775—evidently a continuation of Col. Henderson's Journal; but inquiries of his relatives and friends in Kentucky and Tennessee, in 1836-38, failed to discover it. Similar inquiries by the author of this work, made of his descendants in North Carolina in 1873, were likewise unsuccessful. The foregoing is now published above, in book form, for the first time—existing, heretofore, only in the original MS. or in an old newspaper communication.] R. H. C.

Thus was organized the first Anglo-American government on the west side of the Allegheny range of mountains. It was silently superseded by the government of Virginia—in pursuance of an ancient colonial policy to allow no Indian transfers of territory to private persons; it was contrary to the chartered rights of the state. The act of the state was not without some compensation—some 200,000 instead of 17,000,000 acres—the former embraced in and designated as a tract of land twelve miles square, on the Ohio, below the mouth of Green river.

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL

"Journal of the Proceedings

OF THE

HOUSE OF DELEGATES OR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONY OF TRANSYLVANIA,

Begun on Tuesday the 23d of May, in the year of our Lord Christ 1775, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of his Majesty, King of Great Britain."

The proprietors of said colony having called and required an election of Delegates or Representatives to be made for the purpose of legislation, or making and ordaining laws and regulations for the future conduct of the inhabitants thereof, that is to say, for the town of Boonesborough six members, for Harrodsburg three, for the Boiling Spring settlement four, for the town of St. Asaph four, and appointed their meeting for the purpose aforesaid, on the aforesaid 23d of May, *Anno Domini* 1775:—

It being certified to us here this day, by the secretary, that the following persons were returned as duly elected for the several towns and settlements, to-wit:

For Boonesborough,	*For Harrodsburg,*	*For Boiling Spring,*	*For St. Asaph,*
Squire Boone,	Thomas Slaughter,	James Harrod,	John Todd,
Daniel Boone,	John Lythe,	Nathan Hammond,	Alexander Spotswood
William Cocke,	Valentine Harmon,	Isaac Hite, and	Dandridge,
Samuel Henderson,	James Douglass;	Azariah Davis;	John Floyd, and
William Moore, and			Samuel Wood.
Richard Callaway;			

Present—Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, Richard Callaway, Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, James Douglass, James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac Hite, Azariah Davis, John Todd, Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, John Floyd, and Samuel Wood, who took their seats at convention.

The House unanimously chose Colonel Thomas Slaughter Chairman, and Matthew Jouett Clerk, and after divine service was performed by the Rev. John Lythe, the House waited on the proprietors and acquainted them that they had chosen Mr. Thomas Slaughter Chairman, and Matthew Jouett Clerk, of which they approved; and Colonel Richard Henderson, in behalf of himself and the rest of the proprietors, opened the convention with a speech, a copy of which, to prevent mistakes, the Chairman procured.

Ordered, that said speech be read—read the same which follows

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention:

You are called and assembled at this time for a noble and an honorable purpose—a purpose, however ridiculous or idle it may appear at first view, to superficial minds, yet is of the most solid consequence; and if prudence, firmness, and wisdom are suffered to influence your councils and direct your conduct, the peace and harmony of thousands may be expected to result from your deliberations; in short, you are about a work of the utmost importance to the well-being of this country in general, in which the interest and security of each and every individual is inseparably connected; for that state is truly sickly, politically speaking, whose laws or edicts are not careful equally of the different members, and most distant branches, which constitute the one united whole.

Nay, it is not only a solecism in politics, but an insult to common sense, to attempt the happiness of any community, or composing laws for their benefit, without securing to each individual his full proportion of advantage arising out of the general mass; thereby making his interest (that most powerful incentive to the actions of mankind) the consequence of obedience: this at once not only gives force and energy to legislation, but as justice is, and must be eternally the same, so your laws, founded in wisdom, will gather strength by time, and find an advocate in every wise and well-disposed person.

You, perhaps, are fixing the palladium, or placing the first corner-stone of an edifice, the height and magnificence of whose superstructure is now in the womb of futurity, and can only become great and glorious in proportion to the excellence of its foundation. These considerations, gentlemen, will, no doubt, animate and inspire you with sentiments worthy the grandeur of the subject.

Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effects, secure to us an union of interests, and, consequently, that harmony in opinion, so essential to the forming good, wise, and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain amongst you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now, or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest, by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced. For it is not to be supposed that a people, anxious and desirous of having laws made,—who approve of the method of choosing delegates, or representatives, to meet in general convention for that purpose, can want the necessary and concomitant virtue to carry them into execution.

Nay, gentlemen, for argument's sake, let us set virtue for a moment out of the question, and see how the matter will then stand. You must admit that it is, and ever will be, the interest of a large majority that the laws should be esteemed and held sacred; if so, surely this large majority can never want inclination or power to give sanction and efficacy to those very laws, which advance their interest and secure their property. And now, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the convention, as it is indispensably necessary that laws should be composed for the regulation of our conduct, as we have a right to make such laws without giving offense to Great Britain, or any of the American colonies, without disturbing the repose of any society or community under heaven; if it is probable, nay, certain, that the laws may derive force and efficacy from our mutual consent, and that consent resulting from our own virtue, interest, and convenience, nothing remains but to set about the business immediately, and let the event determine the wisdom of the undertaking.

Among the many objects that must present themselves for your consideration, the first in order, must, from its importance, be that of establishing courts of justice, or tribunals for the punishment of such as may offend against the laws you are about to make. As this law will be the chief corner-stone in the ground-work or basis of our constitution, let us in a particular manner recommend the most dispassionate attention, while you take for your guide as much of the spirit and genius of the laws of England, as can be interwoven with those of this country. We are all Englishmen, or, what amounts to the same, ourselves and our fathers have, for many generations, experienced the invaluable blessings of that most excellent constitution, and surely we can not want motives to copy from so noble an original.

Many things, no doubt, crowd upon your minds, and seem equally to demand your attention; but next to that of restraining vice and immorality, surely nothing can be of more importance than establishing some plain and easy method for the recovery of debts, and determining matters of dispute with respect to property, contracts, torts, injuries, etc. These things are so essential, that if not strictly attended to, our name will become odious abroad, and our peace of short and precarious duration; it would give honest and disinterested persons cause to suspect that there was some colorable reason, at least, for the unworthy and scandalous assertions, together with the groundless insinuations contained in an infamous and scurrilous libel lately printed and published, concerning the settlement of this country, the author of which avails himself of his station, and under the specious pretense of proclamation, pompously dressed up and decorated in the garb of authority, has uttered invectives of the most malignant kind, and endeavors to wound the good name of persons, whose moral character would derive little advantage by being placed in competition with his, charging them, among other things equally untrue, with a design "of forming an asylum for debtors and other persons of desperate circumstances;" placing the proprietors of the soil at the head of a lawless train of abandoned villains, against whom the regal authority ought to be exerted, and every possible measure taken to put an immediate stop to so dangerous an enterprise.

I have not the least doubt, gentlemen, but that your conduct in this convention will manifest the honest and laudable intentions of the present adventurers, whilst a conscious blush confounds the willful calumniators and officious detractors of our infant, and as yet, little community.

Next to the establishment of courts or tribunals, as well for the punishment of public offenders as the recovering of just debts, that of establishing and regulating a militia, seems of the greatest importance; it is apparent, that without some wise institution, respecting our mutual defense, the different towns or settlements are every day exposed to the most imminent danger, and liable to be destroyed at the mere will of the savage Indians. Nothing, I am persuaded, but their entire ignorance of our weakness and want of order, has hitherto preserved us from the destructive and rapacious bands of cruelty, and given us an opportunity at this time of forming secure defensive plans to be supported and carried into execution by the authority and sanction of a well-digested law.

There are sundry other things, highly worthy your consideration, and demand redress; such as the wanton destruction of our game, the only support of life amongst many of us, and for want of which the country would be abandoned ere to-morrow, and scarcely a probability remain of its ever becoming the habitation of any Christian people. This, together with the practice of many foreigners, who make a business of hunting in our country, killing, driving off, and lessening the number of wild cattle and other game, whilst the value of the skins and furs is appropriated to the benefit of persons not concerned or interested in our settlement: these are evils, I say, that I am convinced can not escape your notice and attention.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, you may assure yourselves that this new-born country is an object of the most particular attention of the proprietors here on the spot, as well as those on the other side of the mountains; and that they will most cheerfully concur in every measure which can in the most distant and remote degree promote its happiness or contribute to its grandeur. *May* 23, 1775. RICHARD HENDERSON.

Ordered, that Colonel Callaway, Mr. Lythe, Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Samuel Henderson, be a committee to draw up an answer to the proprietors' speech.

May 25th. Mr. Todd produced to the house an answer (drawn up by the committee) to the proprietors' speech, and being approved of by the committee, ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Cocke, and Mr. Harrod, wait on the proprietors with an answer to their address which is as follows:

Colonel Richard Henderson and Company—Gentlemen—

We received your speech with minds truly thankful for the care and attention you express towards the good people of this infant country, whom we represent. Well aware of the confusion which would ensue the want of rules for our conduct in life, and deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the trust our constituents have reposed in us, though laboring under a thousand disadvantages, which attend prescribing remedies for disorders, which *already* call for our assistance, as well as those that are lodged in the womb of futurity. Yet the task, arduous as it is, we will attempt with vigor, not doubting but unanimity will insure us success.

That we have an absolute right, as a political body, without giving umbrage to Great Britain, or any of the colonies, to frame rules for the government of our little society, can not be doubted by any sensible, unbiassed mind—and being without the jurisdiction of, and not answerable to any of his Majesty's courts, the constituting tribunals of justice shall be a matter of our first contemplation; and as this will be a matter of the greatest importance, we will still keep in the genius and spirit of the English laws, which happy pattern it shall be our chief care to copy after.

Next to the restraint of immorality, our attention shall be directed towards the relief of the injured as well as the creditor, nor will we put it in the power of calumny and scurrility to say, that our country is an asylum for debtors or any disorderly persons.

Nor shall we neglect, by regulating a militia, as well as the infancy of our country will permit, to guard against the hostilities and incursions of our savage enemies, and at the same time, to be cautious to preserve the game of our country, so essentially necessary for the subsistence of the first adventurers.

Conscious, gentlemen, of your veracity, we can not express the satisfaction we experience, that the proprietors of this promising colony are so ready to concur with us in any measure which may tend to promote its happiness and ontribute to its grandeur. THOMAS SLAUGHTER, *Chairman.*

To which Colonel Henderson returned the following answer:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—

From the just sense of the nature and importance of the trust reposed in you by your constituents, and your laudible and truly patriotic resolution of exerting your abilities in the service of your country, we derive the most sanguine hopes.

Arduous as the task is, every difficulty must give way to perseverance, whilst your zeal for the public good is tempered with that moderation and unanimity of opinion, so apparent in your conduct.

We, gentlemen, look with infinite satisfaction on this happy presage of the future felicity of our infant country, and hope to merit a continuation of that confidence you are pleased to express in our veracity and good intentions.

While our transactions have credit for the integrity of our desires, we can not fail uniting with the delegates of the good people of this country, fully persuaded that the proprietors are zealously inclined to contribute every thing in their power which may tend to render it easy, prosperous, and flourishing. RICHARD HENDERSON,

May 25th, 1775. For himself and the company.

On motion made, ordered, that Mr. Todd have leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of Courts of Judicature, and regulating the practice therein,—Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Callaway, and Mr. Henderson, do bring in a bill for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Douglass, leave is given to bring in a bill for regulating a militia,—Ordered, that Mr. Floyd, Mr. Harrod, Mr. Cocke, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Daniel Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for preserving game, etc.,—Ordered, that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, Mr. Harmon, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Moore, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing Courts of Judicature, and regulating the practice therein, brought in by the committee, and read by Mr. Todd, passed the first time,—Ordered to be referred for second reading, etc.

The bill for establishing and regulating a militia, brought in by the committee, and read by Mr. Floyd,—Ordered to be read by the Clerk. Read by the Clerk.—Passed the first time.—Ordered to be referred for second reading.

The bill for preserving game, brought in by the committee, ordered to be read by the Clerk,—Read and passed the first time,—Ordered to be referred for second reading. Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until tomorrow, 6 o'clock.

May 26th. Met according to adjournment,—Mr. Robert McAfee appointed Sergeant at Arms.

Ordered, that the Sergeant at Arms bring John Guess before this convention, for to answer for an insult offered Colonel Richard Callaway.

The bill for regulating a militia, read the second time and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for establishing Courts of Judicature and regulating the practice therein: read second time,—Ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Todd, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Callaway be a committee to take it into consideration.

On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in an attachment bill,—Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Douglass, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read by the Clerk and passed the first time,—Ordered to be referred for second reading.

On motion of Mr. Dandridge, leave is given to bring in a bill to ascertain Clerk's and Sheriff's fees. The said bill was read and passed the first time,—Ordered to be referred for the second reading.

On motion made by Mr. Todd, ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Lythe, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee to draw up a compact between the proprietors and the people of this colony.

On motion of Mr. Lythe, leave is given to bring in a bill to prevent profane swearing and sabbath breaking—Read the same by the Clerk,—Ordered, that it be recommitted, and that Mr. Lythe, Mr. Todd, and Mr. Harrod, be a committee to make amendments, etc.

Mr. Guess was brought before the convention and reprimanded by the Chairman.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod wait on the proprietors to know what name for this colony would be agreeable. Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod reported, that it was their pleasure that it should be called Transylvania.

The bill for ascertaining Clerk's and Sheriff's fees read the second time—passed and ordered to be engrossed.

The attachment bill read the second time and ordered to be engrossed. A bill for preserving game, read the second time and passed,—Ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Todd, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Harrod be a committee to take it into consideration.

The militia bill, read the third time and passed. On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in a bill for the punishment of criminals,—Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Lythe, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing Courts of Judicature and regulating the practice therein, read second time and ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for improving the breed of horses,—Ordered that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Hammond, bring in a bill for that purpose.

The bill for ascertaining Clerk's and Sheriff's fees, read the third time and passed. The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read the third time and passed.

On motion, ordered, that Mr. Todd have leave to absent himself from this house.

The bill for punishment of criminals, brought in by the committee, read by the Clerk, passed the first time and ordered to be considered, etc.

The bill for establishing Courts of Judicature and regulating the practice therein, read the third time with amendments and passed.

The bill for improving the breed of horses, brought in by Captain Boone, read the first time—passed and ordered to be referred for consideration, etc.

Ordered, that the convention adjourn till to-morrow, 6 o'clock.

Met according to adjournment.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and sabbath breaking, read the second time with amendments,—Ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals brought in and read—passed the second time,—Ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the improvement of the breed of horses, read the second time, passed and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered, that Mr. Harrod, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Cocke wait on the proprietors, and beg that they will not indulge any person whatever, in granting them lands on the present terms, unless they comply with the former proposals of settling the country, etc.

On motion of Squire Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill to preserve the range,—Ordered that he have leave to bring in a bill for that purpose.

The following message received from the proprietors, as follows, to-wit:

To give every possible satisfaction to the good people, your constituents, we desire to exhibit our title deed from the Aborigines and first owners of the soil in Transylvania, and hope you will cause an entry to be made of the exhibition in your journal, including the corners and abutments of the lands or country contained therein, so that the boundaries of our colony may be fully known and kept on record. RICHARD HENDERSON.

Transylvania, 27th May, 1775.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite inform the proprietors that their request will be complied with; in consequence of which, Colonel Henderson personally attended the convention, with John Farrow, attorney in fact for the head warriors or chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, who, in presence of the convention, made livery and seizin of all the lands in a deed of feoffment, then produced and bearing date the seventeenth day of March last, 1775.

To which Colonel Henderson, in behalf of himself and company, produced his deed, which is bounded and abutted as follows, viz: Beginning at the Ohio river at the mouth of the Kentucky, Chenoa, or what by the English is called Louisa river; from thence running up the said river and the most northerly branch of the head spring thereof; thence a southeast course to the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of Powell's mountain unto a point from which a northwest course will strike or hit the head spring or the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river; thence up the said river to the beginning.

A bill for preserving the range, brought in by the committee, was read—passed the first time,—Ordered to be laid by for a second consideration.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and sabbath breaking, read the third time and passed.

Ordered, that Mr. Callaway and Mr. Cocke wait on the proprietors, with the laws that have passed, for their perusal and approbation.

The committee appointed to draw up the compact between the proprietors and the people, brought in and read it, as follows, viz:

WHEREAS, it is highly necessary for the peace of the proprietors, and the security of the people of this colony, that the powers of the one and the liberties of the other be ascertained,—We, Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and John Luttrell, on behalf of ourselves as well as the other proprietors of the colony of Transylvania, of the one part, and the representatives of the people of said colony, in convention assembled, of the other part, do most solemnly enter into the following contract and agreement—to wit:

1st. That the election of delegates in this colony, be annual.

2d. That the convention may adjourn and meet again on their own adjournment; provided, that in cases of great emergency the proprietors may call together the delegates before the time adjourned to, and if a majority does not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

3d. That to prevent dissension and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

4th. That there be perfect religious freedom and general toleration—Provided, that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, evidently tending to the subversion of our laws, shall for such conduct be amenable to, and punished by the civil courts.

5th. That the judges of the superior or supreme courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their mal-conduct.

6th. That the quit-rents never exceed two shillings sterling per 100 acres.

7th. That the proprietors appoint a sheriff, who shall be one of three persons recommended by the court.

8th. That the judges of the superior courts have, without fee or reward, the appointment of the clerks of this colony.

9th. That the judges of the inferior courts be recommended by the people, and approved of by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

10th. That all other civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

11th. That the office of Surveyor General belong to no person interested or a partner in this purchase.

12th. That the legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people; a council not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, who reside in the colony; and the proprietors.

13th. That nothing with respect to the number of delegates from any town or settlement, shall hereafter be drawn into precedent, but that the number of representatives shall be ascertained by law, when the state of the colony will admit of amendment.

14th. That the land office be always open.

15th. That commissions without profit be granted without fee.

16th. That the fees and salaries of all officers appointed by the proprietors, be settled and regulated by the laws of the country.

17th. That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public moneys, and electing their treasurer.

18th. That, for a short time, till the state of the colony will permit to fix some place of holding the convention which shall be permanent, the place of meeting shall be agreed upon between the proprietors and the convention.

To the faithful, and religious, and perpetual observance of all and every of the above articles, the said proprietors, on behalf of themselves as well as those absent, and the chairman of the convention on behalf of them and their constituents, have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals, the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

RICHARD HENDERSON. [Seal.]
NATHANIEL HART. [Seal.]
JOHN LUTTRELL. [Seal.]
THOMAS SLAUGHTER, *Chairman*. [Seal.]

A bill for improving the breed of horses, read the third time and passed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, read the third time and passed.

The bill to preserve the range, read the second time and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered, that Mr. Lythe wait on Colonel Henderson and the rest of the

proprietors, with the bill for establishing Courts of Judicature, and regu[illegible]ing the practice therein.

The bill to preserve the range, read the third time and passed.

Ordered, that Colonel Callaway wait on the proprietors with the bill for preserving the range.

Ordered, that a fair copy of the several bills passed into laws, be transmitted to every settlement in this colony that is represented.

Ordered, that the delegates of Boonesborough be a committee to see that the bills that are passed be transcribed in a fair hand, into a book for that purpose.

Ordered, that the proprietors be waited on by the Chairman, acquainting them that all the bills are ready for signing.

The following bills, this day passed and signed by the proprietors, on behalf of themselves and partners, and the Chairman of the convention, on behalf of himself and the other delegates:

1st. An act for establishing Courts of Judicature, and regulating the practice therein.
2d. An act for regulating a militia.
3d. An act for the punishment of criminals.
4th. An act to prevent profane swearing and sabbath breaking.
5th. An act for writs of attachment.
6th. An act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees.
7th. An act to preserve the range.
8th. An act for improving the breed of horses.
9th. An act for preserving game.

All the above-mentioned acts were signed by the Chairman and proprietors, except the act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, which was omitted by the clerk not giving it in with the rest.

Ordered, that at the next meeting of Delegates, if any member be absent, and doth not attend, that the people choose one to serve in the room of such absent member.

Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until the first Thursday in September next, then to meet at Boonesborough.

MATTHEW JOUETT, *Clerk.*

History of the Colony of Transylvania—continued.—Col. Daniel Boone's company of 21 men, increased to 30 by the addition of Capt. Twetty's company of 9, at Watauga, it has already been seen, reached within about 15 miles of Boonesborough, when they were attacked by Indians. (For further account of the temporary fort erected there for defense, see a few pages ahead.) On reaching the southerly bank of the Kentucky river, 1½ miles below the mouth of Otter creek, on the evening of April 1st, 1775, reduced to 25 in number, they began the erection of another small fort, which Col. Henderson called Fort Boone, when he reached the spot on the 20th of April and found it still unfinished. "Two or three days' work would have made it tolerably safe;"* but from the day that Capt. Wm. Cocke arrived with encouraging news from Col. Henderson's party it was totally neglected. It was still unfinished on the 12th of June, "notwithstanding the repeated applications of Capt. Boone, and every representation of danger from the proprietors." The company of Col. Henderson, with that of Capt. John Luttrell which had preceded him a few days, had increased the number of guns—a familiar way of reckoning the men fit for military duty—to about 65. Others came, until 80 men were at Boonesborough; but this was the maximum for 1775. By the middle of June, the number had run down to 50, and was steadily declining. Some unpleasantness occurred or was manifested among the proprietors:* "Our plantations extend near two miles in length, on the river and up Otter creek. . . . . Should any successful attack be made on us by the Indians, Capt. Nathaniel Hart, I suppose, will be able to render sufficient reasons to the surviving company for withdrawing from our camp, and refusing to join in

* Col. Richard Henderson's letter to the Proprietors, from Boonesborough, June 12, 1775.

building a fort for our mutual defense. . . . . Our men, under various pretenses, are every day leaving us."

Before Daniel Boone and his co-workers in opening the road which to this day is proudly pointed out as Boone's Trace, reached the Kentucky river, other daring adventurers and settlers—following in the wake of the two companies of Isaac Hite and Col. James Harrod, who in 1774 erected and parceled out the "lottery cabins," on the waters of Dick's and Salt rivers, and of Shawnee Run—had already come into the same region, in such numbers as to be called the Harrodsburg, Boiling Spring, and St. Asaph's "settlements." Of these several companies, some had already made a clearing and built a cabin, arranged with others to plant corn for them, and reached Cumberland Gap on their return home. Col. Henderson met 40 of them, on April 8, 1775, at a point 4 miles west of Cumberland Gap—all eagerly pressing towards the settlements, and away from the bloody scenes just enacted in their rear in now Madison county. Only one could be prevailed upon to venture back to the land of danger and of promise. Eight days later, April 16, they met James McAfee at the head of a company of 18, also returning; and of that number, Robert and Samuel McAfee were persuaded to go back to Boone's fort with them. In addition to these 58, Col. Henderson's journal (*ante*) mentions a company of 32 from Virginia, under Col. John Floyd—who were already on Dick's river, in April. His letter of June 12th speaks of 40 more whom he met, in the same month, going back to Virginia; and adds that there were still about 60 or 70 in now Mercer county, 19 in now Harrison county, besides a surveying party of 13 in now Fayette county. This presents a total of 230 men already at various points in Kentucky—in advance of the organized Transylvania Colony movement, which accomplished so much towards the permanent possession of the "Kentucky country."

In the long struggle between liberty and despotism, more or less modified—a struggle coeval almost with the creation of man—the world has scarcely presented so thorough a condition of personal freedom as that enjoyed by the pioneer hunters of Kentucky. Art could make no palace so grand as their home. Physical nature had no real want which the forest did not supply. The purest air of heaven combined with the high exercise of the chase to produce the most perfect bodily health. Sickness was the greatest stranger in early Kentucky. Death from natural causes was so remarkable, that "on one occasion when a young man was taken sick and died, after the usual manner of nature, the women in the fort sat up all night, gazing upon him as an object of beauty."* Wherever the pioneer went, his hands obtained him all that was necessary to existence. The forest furnished him more than he could eat; he had but to put forth his hand and call it his own. The skins that enwrapped his food became his own clothing. The canopy of heaven was his roof; the ground, that brought forth so abundantly, if he chose to till it, was his bed. Wherever it pleased him to remove, his house was ready for him. If the land were not his own, he made it so by clearing a spot, and carving his name upon a tree as the record of his ownership: he planted a few seed, and went away; he returned, and gathered his crops. His life was one of constant danger, scarcely one of toil; one of an ever-fresh excitement, that he loved despite the danger. It would be strange, then—when for two years he had taken up the land and laid it down at pleasure—had surveyed where and as many acres as he chose, and none gainsaid his right and ownership—if now the new-made claim of Henderson & Co. to be proprietors of all the land should be either promptly or at all conceded. Those who came with Col. Henderson, or before him at his instance, were tempted and employed by the promise of lands purchased of the Indians—whose ownership the pioneers had felt was much like their own, attaching to them personally where they went and while they staid. They who were already in the land, who had spied it out and were reveling in its luxuries, would be "hail fellows, well met," with the lordly Transylvanians; but so far acknowledge their superior rights as pay them *tribute*, NEVER! They would help them open the country, combine with them for defense, counsel with them for the

* Ex-Gov. Morehead's Boonesborough address, May 25, 1840, page 143.

common safety and common good, meet them for any purpose upon equal terms; but submit to them as lords of the soil, entitled to an annual quit-rent, NEVER!! They found Kentucky free soil, and with their blood would help to keep it free. A common government, an equal representative government, they would help to establish and maintain; the air they breathed was too free and too pure, and the surroundings of their homes too inspiriting and grand, to teach them the virtue of a proprietary government. They united in a protest and petition, addressed "To the Honorable the Convention of Virginia," in which appear the following sentences—which showed they were willing to submit to what they regarded as the right, but prompt to repel and resent the wrong:

The Petition of the inhabitants, and some of the intended settlers, of that part of North America now denominated Transylvania, humbly showeth:

WHEREAS some of your petitioners became adventurers in that country from the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it; and others since, allured by the specious show of the easy terms on which the land was to be purchased from those who style themselves proprietors, have, at a great expense and many hardships, settled there, under the faith of holding the lands by an indefeasible title, which those gentlemen assured them they were capable of making.

But your petitioners have been greatly alarmed at the late conduct of those gentlemen, in advancing the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling per hundred acres. At the same time they have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate; and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands, even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intention of rising in their demands as the settlers increase or their insatiable avarice shall dictate.

And your petitioners have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned—from a copy of the deed made by the Six Nations with Sir William Johnson, and the commissioners from this colony, at Fort Stanwix, in the year 1768—that the said lands were included in the cession or grant of all that tract which lies on the south side of the river Ohio, beginning at the mouth of Cherokee or Hogohege river, and extending up the said river to Kettaning. And, as in the preamble of the said deed, the said confederate Indians declare the Cherokee river to be their true boundary with the southard Indians, your petitioners may, with great reason, doubt the validity of the purchase that those proprietors have made of the Cherokees—the only title they set up to the lands for which they demand such extravagant sums from your petitioners, without any other assurance for holding them than their own deed and warrantee—a poor security, as your petitioners humbly apprehend, for the money that, among other new and unreasonable regulations, these proprietors insist should be paid down on the delivery of the deed.

And, as we have the greatest reason to presume that his majesty, to whom the lands were deeded by the Six Nations for a valuable consideration, will vindicate his title, and think himself at liberty to grant them to such persons and on such terms as he pleases, your petitioners would, in consequence thereof, be turned out of possession, or be obliged to purchase their lands and improvements on such terms as the new grantee or proprietor might think fit to impose; so that we can not help regarding the demand of Mr. Henderson and his company as highly unjust and impolitic, in the infant state of the settlement, as well as greatly injurious to your petitioners, who would cheerfully have paid the consideration at first stipulated by the company, whenever their grant had been confirmed by the crown, or otherwise authenticated by the supreme legislature.

And, as we are anxious to concur in every respect with our brethren of the united Colonies, for our just rights and privileges, as far as our infant settlement and remote situation will admit of, we humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable Convention of the Colony of Virginia, of which we can not help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen styling themselves proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson.

And that you would take such measures as your honors in your wisdom shall judge most expedient for restoring peace and harmony to our divided settlement; or, if your honors apprehend that our case comes more properly before the honorable the General Congress, that you would in your goodness recommend the same to your worthy delegates, to espouse it as the cause of the Colony. And your petitioners, etc.*

Jediah Ashcraft,	Wm. Fields,	Joseph Lyon,	Jesse Pigman,
Robert Atkinson,	Wm. Gaffata,	John Maxwell,	Samuel Pottinger,
Thomas Bathugh,	Joseph Gwynne	Wm. McElroy,	Isaac Pritchard,
John Beesor,	John Hardin,	Hugh McMillion,	Archibald Reeves,
David Brooks,	Jehu Harlan,	Elijah Mills,	Wm. Rice,
Edward Brownfield,	Silas Harlan,	John Mills,	John Severn,
James Calley,	James Harrod,	John Moore,	Wm. Shepherd,
John Camron,	Levi Harrod,	Samuel Moore,	John Simms, sen.,
J. Zebulon Collins,	Wm. Harrod,	Simon Moore,	Henry Simons,
Herman Consoley,	Wm. Hartley,	Thomas Moore,	Adam Smith,
John Conway,	John Helm,	Wm. Myers,	Henry Thomas,
Leonard Cooper,	Meredith Helm, Jr.,	Ralph Naylor,	Michael Thomas,
John Corby,	Abraham Hite, Jr.,	Robert Naylor,	Moses Thomas,
Charles Cracraft,	Andrew House,	Barnet Neal,	Samuel Thomas,
Wm. Crow,	John House,	Adam Neilson,	George Uland,
Benjamin Davis,	Simeon House,	Richard Owen,	Abraham Vanmeter,
Thomas Dean,	Wm. House,	Benjamin Parkison,	Barnard Walter,
Robert Doak,	James Hughes,	Joseph Parkison,	James Willie,
Patrick Doran,	Arthur Ingram,	Thomas Parkison,	Thomas Wilson,
Benjah Dunn,	Thomas Kennedy,	Wm. Parkison,	Wm. Wood,
John Dunn,	John Kilpatrick,	Peter Paul,	Conrad Woolter.

The date of the foregoing rather energetic protest—signed by 84 men, mostly in and around Harrodsburg, of whom only a few ever became prominent citizens—has not been preserved. From internal evidence, and from a letter to the proprietors of Transylvania colony from Col. John Williams, himself one of the proprietors and their agent, dated Boonesborough, Jan. 3, 1776, it would seem to have been written about Dec., 1775. In that letter, Col. Williams complains of "a small party about Harrodsburg who, it seems, have been entering into a confederacy not to hold lands on any other terms than those of the first year. . . . . The principal man, I am told, at the head of this confederacy, is one Hite; and him I make no doubt but to convince he is in an error."

A Meeting of the Proprietors of Transylvania was held at their old home in Oxford, Granville county, North Carolina, on Monday, Sept. 25, 1775—at which seven were present, of the nine. Col Richard Henderson, Col. Thomas Hart, and Capt. John Luttrell had returned from Kentucky, for the purpose of the meeting. Capt. Nathaniel Hart and his brother David remained in Kentucky. At this meeting, whose action had an important bearing on the success of their scheme of aggrandizement in the west—

Col. John Williams was constituted the agent of the company and general manager of their business interests in Kentucky, whither he was to remove immediately and remain until April 12, 1776, at a salary for that term of £150 proclamation money of North Carolina—payable out of the profits arising from the sale of lands after discharging the company's present engagements. In the event of his death or removal, Col. Richard Henderson, Capt. Nathaniel Hart, and Capt. John Luttrell, or any one of them, were to be temporarily agents for the company.

James Hogg was appointed to represent the colony of Transylvania in the Continental Congress then sitting at Philadelphia; he was to bear to that body a memorial "requesting that Transylvania be added to the number of the united Colonies," and Mr. Hogg be admitted to a seat as their delegate—

* Hall's Sketches of History in the West, vol. ii, pp. 236–239.

representing that "the memorialists having made this purchase from the aborigines and immemorial possessors, the sole and uncontested owners of the country, in fair and open treaty, and without the violation of any British or American law whatever, are determined to give it up only with their lives."

The agent was prohibited from granting any lands adjoining salt springs, gold, silver, copper, lead, or sulphur mines; and all deeds were to reserve to the proprietors *one-half* of all gold, silver, copper, lead, and sulphur mines. He was to appoint one or more surveyors—who should make all surveys "by the four cardinal points, except where rivers or mountains make it too inconvenient." Surveys on navigable rivers should extend two poles out for one pole along the river, and other surveys not be above one-third longer than wide. The price of lands until June 1, 1776, was fixed at £2½ sterling ($12.10) per hundred acres, and $8 fees for each survey—an average of about 13⅓ cents per acre. Besides this, an annual quit-rent should be reserved of two shillings sterling (nearly 50 cents) per 100 acres, or half a cent per acre—but this rent not to begin until the year 1780. At these rates, any settler before June, 1776, was privileged to take up not over 640 acres for himself, and for each taxable person he might take with him and settle there 320 acres more. Any person who should not immediately settle might buy not over 5,000 acres, at £3½ per 100 acres (about 17 cents per acre).

Col. Henderson was directed to survey not less than 200,000 acres for the company, to be equally divided between them; and each of the members might lay off not over 2,000 acres for himself. A present of 2,000 acres was made to Col. Daniel Boone for his "signal services." The thanks of the company were presented to Col. Richard Callaway "for his spirited and manly behavior in behalf of the colony," and a present made to *his* youngest son of 640 acres [none to himself]. A present of 640 acres was tendered to Rev. Henry Patillo, on condition he would settle in the colony (which he never did).

Precisely what inducements Col. Henderson and company held out to the large number of persons whom they induced to immigrate to Kentucky in 1775 does not appear. In their memorial to congress, Jan. 6, 1795, they claim to have "*hired* between 200 and 300 men," to go to Kentucky, begin the settlement at Boonesborough, build a fort, etc. Gen. Benjamin Logan, one of the earliest and most influential of the settlers, deposed, June 20, 1798, that "Col. Henderson & Co. offered 640 acres as a gratuity to those who raised corn in 1775 or 1776—one or both of those years, but I am not certain which. They also sold land in larger quantities by entries." At the meeting at Oxford, N. C., above mentioned, Sept. 25, 1775, they evidently made a serious change in their programme or terms; but did not indicate their first offers. It was the action of this meeting which precipitated the sharp protest above, and helped to concentrate the opposition of the settlers about Harrodsburg.

Non-success of the Colony of Transylvania.—It would be singular, indeed, if so spirited and significant a demonstration of opposition to the proprietary government of Transylvania, or Col. Henderson & Co., were the only evidence of its want of acceptability to the adventurers and emigrants to Kentucky. It was not only not heartily supported by any portion of the people, but was positively unacceptable. The proprietors themselves, who had come out to foster and build up an enterprise which at one time promised magnificent results, were men of no ordinary character. Col. Richard Henderson, the three brothers Hart (Thomas, Nathaniel, and David), Capt. John Luttrell, and Col. John Williams, were all men of great energy and decision. Col. Henderson (see sketch under Henderson county) died at his home in Granville, N. C., Jan. 30, 1785; Nathaniel Hart was killed by Indians, just outside of his White Oak Spring fort, about a mile above Boonesborough, in Aug., 1782; John Luttrell was killed by the tories in the Revolution, near his home in North Carolina, in 1781; John Williams became a judge in North Carolina in 1777, and a member of the Continental Congress in 1778; Thos. Hart was a member of the provincial congress of North Carolina in 1774, and a Revolutionary officer some years later. They seemed discouraged by the opposition that was gradually developed to their government, and did not rise in energy equal to the occasion. This may have been because the very foundation upon which they were building was slippery and unsubstantial—because their co-proprietor, James Hogg, whom they commissioned as a delegate to the Continental Congress from the colony of Transylvania, was not invited to a seat in that body—because their approaches to the provincial congress of Virginia were not encouraged by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, whom they first sought to convince of the wisdom and justice of their enterprise—and because Gov. Josiah Martin, of North Carolina (an Englishman by birth and a soldier by profession, with the most rigid notions of governmental sovereignty), promptly issued his proclamation in 1775, declaring illegal the Watauga purchase from the Cherokee Indians so far as it embraced lands now in Tennessee but then the western extension or portion of that state, as the Kentucky country was of Virginia; and not because they were appalled or disheartened by the rising difficulties all around them in their Transylvania colony. The strong men—the men of force and brains—who adventured into the wilderness, were not attracted to Boonesborough, but rather repelled. Such men, the world over, will not voluntarily go where from the nature of things they must be overshadowed. They shrink from an unequal contest. They will not fight against hope. They will dare any thing in a field that is inviting. They sought Harrodsburg, Logan's Station, McConnell's Station and Lexington, Beargrass and the Falls. The proprietors of Transylvania did not grapple such men to them with hooks of steel. Their movement evidently did not proceed from the people, was not for the good of the greatest number. There was at bottom, cropping out through it everywhere, a selfishness and a contractedness that did not consist with the largest liberty ideas which obtained a few miles further west. The only man of note after Daniel Boone (and his mission of opening a road was already finished) whom they propitiated, was Col. John Floyd; and that was in a subordinate position, as a surveyor—which involved faithful labor, but did not draw to them and develop for them his brains and influence.

Col. Henderson and his partners were too well read, too observing, and too good judges of human nature, to hope for success against the power of the state. As soon as they realized that they could not be upheld and acknowledged in their claim to sovereignty, and that the state of Virginia whenever suitable occasions for legislation presented never ceased or hesitated to exercise her right of sovereignty, they quietly abandoned some of their pretentious claims, and acted wisely in locating and preempting, each for himself, 400 and 1,000 acres of land, as provided for in the laws of Virginia. They exerted themselves—in perfect good faith to those who had entered land in *their* land-office, and paid the fees they charged—in endeavoring to procure from the state of Virginia an official acknowledgment of their own title to these lands as owners. They failed in this, too—a step that would have been wise on the part of the state, at once conciliating and assuring all who had ventured their lives and their property in a well-meant effort to secure a home and lands in the new El Dorado. Instead of promptly disavowing the acts of Henderson & Co., it was not until Wednesday, Nov. 4, 1778, that the Virginia house of delegates

"*Resolved*—That all purchases of lands, made or to be made, of the Indians within the chartered bounds of this commonwealth, as described by the constitution or form of government, by any private persons not authorized by public authority, are void.

"*Resolved*—That the purchases heretofore made by Richard Henderson and Company, of that tract of land called Transylvania within this commonwealth, of the Cherokee Indians, is void. But as the said Richard Henderson and Company have been at very great expense in making the said purchase, and in settling the said lands—by which this commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants and establishing a barrier against the Indians—it is just and reasonable to allow the said Richard Henderson and Company a compensation for their trouble and expense."

——Which action of the house, on Tuesday, Nov. 17, 1778, was "agreed to by the senate." Accordingly, not long after, rehearsing the second resolution above—

"*It was enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia*, That all that tract of land situate, lying, and being on the waters of the Ohio and Green rivers, bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of Green river; thence running up the same twelve and a half miles when reduced to a straight line; thence running at right angles with the said reduced lines twelve and a half miles on each side the said river; thence running lines from the termination of the line extended on each side the said Green river, at right angles with the same, till the said lines intersect the Ohio, which said Ohio shall be the western boundary of the said tract—be, and the same is hereby granted the said Richard Henderson and Company, and their heirs, as tenants in common; subject to the payment of the same taxes as other lands in this commonwealth are, but under such limitation of time, as to the settling the said lands, as shall be hereafter directed by the General Assembly.

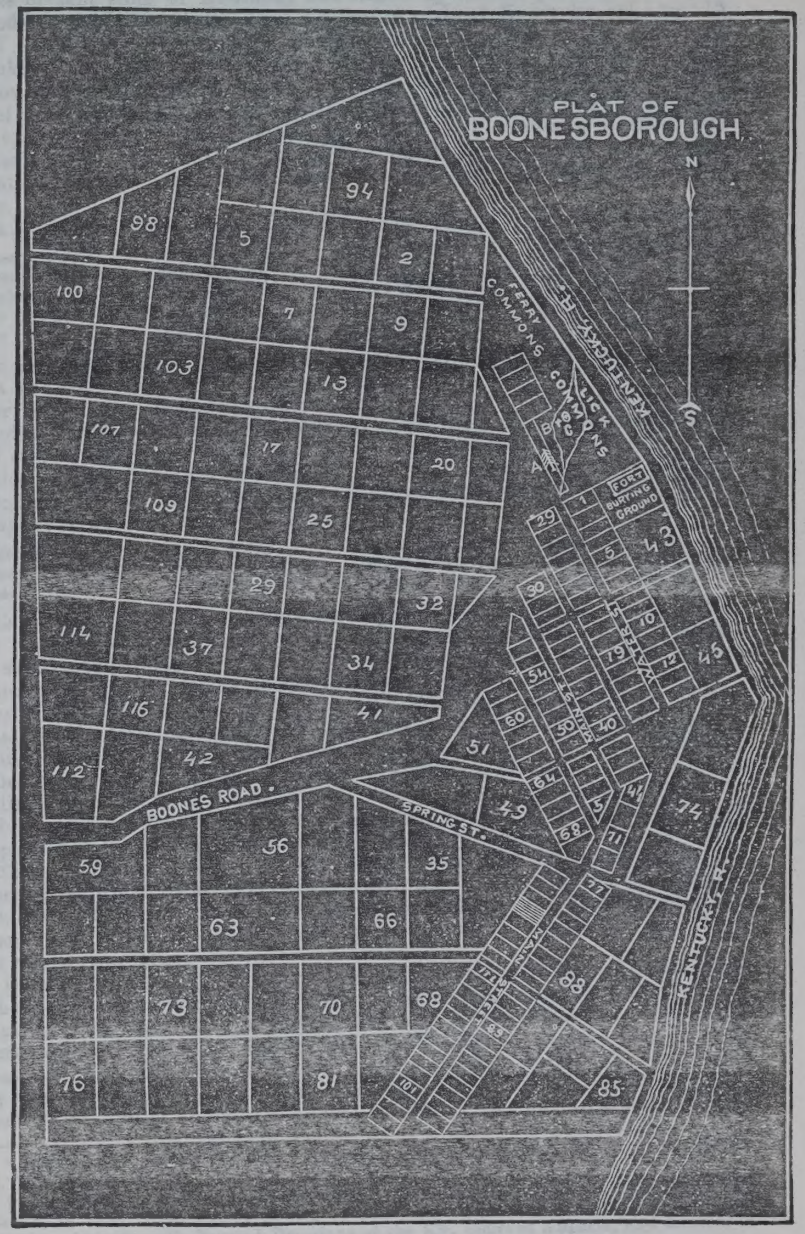
"But this grant shall, and it is hereby declared to, be in full compensation to the said Richard Henderson and Company and their heirs, for their charge and trouble, and for all advantage accruing therefrom to this commonwealth; and they are hereby excluded from any further claim to lands, on account of any settlement or improvements heretofore made by them, or any of them, on the lands so as aforesaid purchased from the Cherokee Indians."*

The First Ferry established in the now state of Kentucky by act of the Virginia legislature, was in Oct., 1779, "at the town of Boonesborough, in the county of Kentucky, across Kentucky river, to the land on the opposite shore—the price for a man three shillings [50 cents], and for a horse the same; the keeping of which ferry, and emoluments arising therefrom, are hereby given and granted to Richard Callaway, his heirs or assigns, so long as he or they shall well and faithfully keep the same according to the directions of this act." [Only 8 other ferries were established by the state of Virginia, up to 1792, when Kentucky became a state. These were, in 1785, across the Kentucky river, to James Hogan, at the mouth of Hickman's creek in now Jessamine co; to David Crews, at the mouth of Jack's creek in now Madison co; to Wm. Steele, at Stone Lick; and two over the Ohio river to John Campbell, one each to the mouths of Silver creek and Mill run; in 1786, to John Curd, over the Kentucky river at the mouth of Dick's river, and one to James Wilkinson, at Frankfort; and in 1791, to Joseph Martin, across Cumberland river.]

Boonesborough, "on the Kentucky river, in the county of Kentucky," was "established a town, for the reception of traders," by act of the Virginia legislature in Oct., 1779—in accordance with the petition of the inhabitants. Twenty acres had already been laid off into lots and streets, 50 more were directed to be so laid off, and the balance of 640 acres (570 more) were to be laid off for "a common." Lots were "to be conveyed to the persons first making application—subject to the condition of building within three years on each lot a dwelling-house at least 16 feet square, with a brick, stone, or dirt chimney." Richard Callaway, Chas. Minn Thruston, Levin Powell, Edmund Taylor, James Estre [mistake for Estill], Edward Bradley, John Kennedy, David Gist [mistake for Gass], Pemberton Rollins, and Daniel Boone, *gentlemen*, were appointed trustees, but refused to act; and by "an act to explain and amend," in 1787, Thos. Kennedy, Aaron Lewis, Robert Rodes, Green Clay, Archibald Woods, Benj. Bedford, John Sappington, Wm. Irvine, David Crews, and Higgason Grubbs, *gentlemen*, were made the trustees.

The following sketch of the Town Plat of Boonesborough is taken from a copy of the original, which copy was kindly loaned for this purpose by John Stevens, who now owns as a beautiful farm nearly all the 640 acres embraced in this plat. The original was probably worn out or destroyed more than 80 years ago—about which time this copy was taken. Mr. Stevens' residence is on Lot No. 51. Spring street is named after one of the three fine springs which caused the selection of the spot originally as a fort; the spring is on the river bank at the foot of the street—where there was, and still is, a ford in low water. The other two springs, one of them a sulphur spring, are near A, on the Lick Commons. The Elm

* Littell's Laws of Kentucky [and Virginia], Appendix to vol. iii, page 5—.



Tree under which the first legislative council was held and the first sermon preached [see page 501,] was at B, on the Lick commons. John Stevens, David Oldham, and other boys played marbles under its shade, on many a Sunday, about 1825. It was cut down for its wood (of which it made many cords), by the servants of Samuel Halley, about 1828. Mr. Stevens, when 60 years of age, was as eloquent and enthusiastic in describing it to the author of this, when visiting the spot, on April 10, 1873, as was Col. Henderson in his Journal (see page 500). The old (large) fort stood on the lot afterwards used as a public burying-ground—and where Col. Richard Callaway and other pioneers killed by the Indians were buried within the fort or stockade. Nothing now marks the site of the fort except a few stones which composed the foundations of two chimneys. The temporary small fort first built stood near the elm tree. The ferry house is on Lot 76. "Boone's Road" is the old trace by which the fort was originally reached, passing up a branch and over the ridge; the present turnpike crosses it in several places, where it is still plainly visible. At D are still standing parts of the thick walls of the tobacco warehouse, built some 80 years ago when Boonesborough was a shipping point of considerable importance. Its glory, in this regard, too, has departed, although in 1871 a little steamer called "Daniel Boone" was built here. The bank in front of where the fort stood is quite steep and high, and could be easily tunneled—as was attempted by the Indians during their great siege, in Aug., 1778 (see page 529). French street was named after James French, the father of the late Judge Richard French, of Mountsterling, who represented the district in congress for six years, between 1835 and 1849; and Calk street after Wm. Calk, who lived here in 1775, and who built the first cabin in now Montgomery co., near Mountsterling, in 1779. We curiously inspected the three sycamore trees still standing on the Lick commons, which were silent witnesses of the sieges in 1777–78. Of two of them, the trunks (some 20 feet in circumference) are mere shells, entirely open on the side next the fort. That side and their center were literally killed by the bullets fired, during the long siege, *into* them, but *at* the Indians concealed behind them. For 40 years, until the supply was exhausted a few years ago, Mr. Stevens obtained from these two trees all the bullets he used for sinkers of his fishing-lines.

To a Daughter of Daniel Boone was granted by the legislature of Virginia a body of land on Hayes' fork of Silver creek, just S. E. of Kingston—now owned (1873) by John E. McHenry.

The Form of Henderson & Co.'s Warrant, or order of survey, exists nowhere in print. From an original, written in a clear bold hand, issued in favor of Wm. Poague, father of the late Gen. Robert Pogue, of Mason co., Ky., and carefully preserved among the papers of the latter, is copied below the form used *after* the foregoing meeting of the Proprietors in Sept., 1775. (Wm. Poague died Sept. 3, 1778, from wounds by Indians near Danville—see under Mercer county.)

Transylvania, } SS. Boonesborough, }

RICHARD HENDERSON & Co., Proprietors of the Colony of Transylvania.

To JOHN FLOYD, Esquire, Surveyor of the said Colony:

SEAL.

You are hereby authorized and required to survey and lay off for Wm. Poague six hundred and forty acres of land, lying on the west branches of Clark creek, known by the name of Gilmer's lick, abt. three miles west of Wm. Whitley's place where he lives, and marked on a tree with powder, WPOAGE.

And the same having surveyed, pursuant to the rules of our office laid down and our instructions by the surveyor to be observed; two fair and correct plots of the same you make or cause to be made, with your proceedings thereon, into our office, within three months from the date hereof, wherever then held within our said Colony. Given under our seal at Boonesborough, the fifteenth day of January, 1776.

JNO. WILLIAMS, Agt., &c.

Endorsed.—No. 676. Wm. Poague's Warr for 640 acres of land, Gilmer's lick.

First Settlement of Kentucky.—[To correct a prevailing but erroneous opinion that the first settlement of Kentucky was at Boonesborough in April, 1775, the following is inserted here, instead of under Mercer county, where it otherwise more appropriately belongs:]

The present state of Kentucky was *visited* by various parties, at different periods from 1747 to 1772. (See Collins' Annals of Kentucky, vol. i, pp. 15 to 17; also, under the counties of Boone, Boyd, Bracken, Carroll, Fleming, Franklin, Greenup, Henry, Jefferson, Josh Bell, Lewis, Lincoln, Madison, Mason, Mercer, and other counties herein.) The first visits that gave promise of return and settlement were those of 1773, with the large number of surveys in that year. An "improver's cabin"—*i. e.*, a square of small logs erected breast high, but not roofed nor inhabited—was built in Bracken county, that year (see under Bracken county), but none elsewhere in the state.

In May, 1774, Capt. James Harrod's company of adventurers, of 31 men,*

James Blair,	Jared Cowan,	David Glenn,	Evan(or John)Hinton
James Brown,	John Cowan,	Thomas Glenn,	—— Rees,
Abraham Chapline,	John Crow,	Silas Harlan,	John Shelp,
John Clark,	Azariah Davis,	James Harrod,	James Wiley,
John Crawford,	William Fields,	Thomas Harrod, James Harlan,	John Wilson,†

And 10 others whose names we can not ascertain, came down the Monongahela and Ohio rivers in periogues or canoes, to the mouth of the Kentucky river, which they ascended to the mouth of a creek called (from that fact) Landing run (now Oregon), in the lower end of the present county of Mercer, and east of the village of Salvisa; thence across to Salt river near McAfee's station, and up that river to Fountain Blue, and to the place where Harrodsburg now stands. In two or three weeks this was followed by Isaac Hite's company of adventurers, of 11 men—

Robert Gilbert,	James Knox,	Jacob Sandusky,	David Williams,
James Hamilton,	James McColloch,	James Sodousky,	and one other name
Isaac Hite,	Alexander Petrey,	Benjamin Tutt,	not preserved.†

Capt. Harrod and his company encamped at the Big Spring on the east of the place where it was agreed to lay off a town. Thence the men scattered in small companies, to select locations, improve lands, and build cabins, which they divided among themselves by lot—and as the "lottery cabins" they were known as long as they lasted. Thus—John Crow's lottery cabin was near the town spring of Danville, James Brown's on Clark's run ¾ths of a mile S. E. of said spring, and James Blair's 1¼ miles S. W., Wm. Field's 1½ miles W. of Danville,‡ John Crawford's 4 miles S. of Danville, and James Wiley's 3 miles E. of Harrodsburg. There is good reason to believe that cabins were not built for all of the company, and therefore those built were apportioned by lot. The men of Hite's company "improved," but generally without building cabins. James Harrod found what he called the Boiling Spring, and which in May, 1775, was called the "Boiling Spring Settlement," 6 miles S. of Harrodstown, where he cut down brush and made his improvement; and which became his home until his murder, and that of his widow for many years after.

But the Big Spring was the rallying point or camp of Harrod's company, where they were joined by Hite's men; and on June 16, 1774,‖ they laid off a town, giving each man a half-acre lot and a ten-acre outlot. While this surveying was going on, Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner—then on their way to or from the Falls of the Ohio (at Louisville), whither they were sent by Gov. Dunmore, of Virginia, to warn Col. John Floyd and other surveyors sent out by him of threatened Indian hostilities (which culminated shortly

* Sketch of First Settlement of Kentucky, written in June, 1841, by Gen. Robert B. McAfee, and another sketch by same, Aug., 1845.

† Depositions of Capt. David Williams in 1794, James Sodousky in 1797, Capt. John Cowan in 1798, Hon. James Brown in 1790, Col. Abraham Chapline in 1806, and others. Also, Sneed's Printed Decisions of the Ky. Court of Appeals, and Records of Ky. Land Office.

‡ Map of Survey by James Thompson, surveyor Lincoln co., Aug. 20, 1802.

‖ Conversations between Gen. Robert B. McAfee and Col. Abraham Chapline.

after in the great battle of "the Point" or Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha river, in West Virginia, Oct. 10, 1774, and in which most of the above 42 men were engaged)—reached there, and Boone assisted in laying off lots. A lot was assigned to him adjoining one laid off for —— (John *or* Evan) Hinton;—upon which was immediately built a double log cabin, which was known indiscriminately as Boone's or Hinton's cabin, until it, with the other 3 or 4 built at the same time near by, was burnt by the Indians, March 7, 1777, just after Thomas Wilson and his family had escaped from one of them into the fort.* Thus Daniel Boone himself assisted in the foundation of the first inhabited town in Kentucky. [Capt. Thomas Bullitt laid off the town of Louisville on the 1st of August, 1773, but it was not settled for five years after, until Oct., 1778.] These 4 or 5 cabins stood on the south side of the town branch, near where Archibald Woods was living in 1841, and about 120 yards below the town spring. They were occupied by the men of the two companies until July 10, 1774, when the Indians fired upon a party of 5 of them at Fontainebleau or Fountain Blue, a large spring 3 miles below Harrodstown (where corn had already been planted). They instantly killed Jared Cowan, while engaged in drying some papers in the sun. Jacob Sandusky and two others, not knowing but that the others had been killed, escaped through the woods to the Cumberland river, and thence went by canoe to New Orleans.† The remaining man fled to Harrodstown, and gave the alarm. Captains Harrod and Chapline, and a strong party went down and buried Jared Cowan and secured his papers; then collected up their scattered men, and returned to Virginia by the Cumberland Gap.

The town thus laid off was named *Harrodstown*, and subsequently known or spoken of as *Oldtown*, even for years after it received its present name of *Harrodsburg*. These cabins and this "town" thus suddenly vacated—under the double operation of the alarm created by Boone's message and the panic resulting from the killing of Jared Cowan—were re-occupied on the 15th of March, 1775, by a new company (including many who were with him in 1774) under Capt. James Harrod, although Harrod himself shortly after settled at his new Harrod's station, 6 miles S. E. of Harrodstown on the present turnpike to Danville. Although more than half of the early adventurers of 1775 (who had come intending to settle) were frightened hurriedly back to Virginia by the several Indian attacks in March (see Daniel Boone's letter, *ante*, page 498]; yet these cabins were not abandoned. Of Harrod's company from the Monongahela country, besides others temporarily, 5 at least—Lewis Holmes, Richard Benson, John Lynch, Samuel Cartwright, and Daniel Linn‡—continued in the occupancy of one or more of the cabins, and were thus found on Sept. 8, 1775, when Gen. James Ray, then quite a young man, accompanying his mother, Mrs. Hugh McGary, her husband, and the children of both husbands, Richard Hogan and Thomas Denton with their families, and several others, reached Harrodsburg. At the head of Dick's river, in now Rockcastle county, this McGary party separated from Daniel Boone and his family, who with 21 men took their course to the new fort at Boonesborough—reaching there also on Sept. 8, 1775. Thus Daniel Boone's wife and daughter, as he himself said, were "the first white women who ever stood upon the banks of Kentucky river,"‖ while on the same day Mrs. McGary, Mrs. Hogan, and Mrs. Denton formed the first domestic circle at Harrodsburg, and were the first white women upon the waters of Salt river.

As to the continued occupation of Harrodsburg, the Hon. Felix Walker says, in his narrative before quoted from, that he spent two weeks at Harrodsburg in June, 1775, "where we had a few men," in company with his old North Carolina friend, Capt. James Harrod. Col. Richard Henderson, in his letter from Boonesborough, June 12, 1775, to the proprietors of Transylvania colony, says: "To the west, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within 6 or 7 miles one of the other [Harrodsburg, and the Boiling Spring, or Harrod's Station]; there were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places—though now, perhaps, not more than 60 or 70, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, etc., and some returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere." And Daniel Boone, in his letter to Col. Henderson, dated April 1, 1775 [see page 498, *ante*], says: "I have sent a man down to all the lower companies, in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter creek." Of these lower companies, the head and front in numbers and influence was Harrodsburg. That, and the settlements at Boiling Spring (6 miles S. E. of Harrodsburg), and at St. Asaph's (as Gen. Logan's station, 1 mile W. of Stanford, was called), were duly and strongly represented in the legislative assembly of Transylvania colony, May 23d to 28th, 1775.

Depositions and other well authenticated statements in possession of or examined by the author of this, show that the following persons were among those who resided or spent some time at Harrodsburg, during some portion of the year 1775, after March 11th, which was the date of the first arrival and re-occupancy of the cabins built in 1774—and which was at least 20 days before Col Daniel Boone's company reached the Kentucky river and laid the foundations of Boonesborough. Fourteen of them raised corn, within a few miles of Harrodsburg, and 2 of them near Lexington, that season:

David Adams,	John Grayson,	John Lynch,	Sevier Paulson,
Richard Benson,	Nathan Hammond,	Rev. John Lythe,	Nathaniel Randolph,
John Braxdale,	Evangelist Hardin,	George McAfee,	James Ray,
James Brown,	Valentine Harmon,	James McAfee,	Thomas Ryan,
Samuel Cartwright,	James Harrod,	Robert McAfee,	James Sodousky,
Abraham Chapline,	John Higgins,	Samuel McAfee,	Samuel Scott,
John Cowan,	Henry Higgins,	Wm. McAfee,	John Severns,
Wm. Crow,	Isaac Hite,	Wm. McBrayer,	John Shelp,
Azariah Davis,	Richard Hogan,	James McCown,	Col. Thos. Slaughter,
Thomas Denton,	Lewis Holmes,	John McCown,	David Williams,
John Dougherty,	Samuel Ingram,	Hugh McGary,	Edward Williams,
James Douglass,	Garret Jordan,	John McGee,	John Wilson.
William Fields,	Patrick Jordan,	Wm. McMurty,	
James Gilmore,	Daniel Linn,	Archibald McNeill,	

Thus, there is cumulative testimony—from contemporary letters or private journals of the earliest settlers, attested and amplified by scores of depositions—that the first habitable cabins by white Americans in what is now Kentucky were built at Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg), immediately after the town was laid off into lots on June 16, 1774; that on July 10, 1774, because of information sent by Gov. Dunmore of expected Indian hostilities, verified on that day by the killing of Jared Cowan, a panic seized all the adventurers and settlers alike, and the entire country was abandoned as rapidly as possible; that it was not re-visited until Feb., 1775, nor re-occupied anywhere until March 11, 1775, when some of the aforenamed reached Harrodstown and took possession of the cabins of 1774; that these cabins were not all abandoned nor unoccupied at any time thereafter, but were burned by the Indians, and their occupants driven into the fort, on March 7, 1777—while others built by the families that reached Harrodsburg on Sept. 8, 1775, were permanently occupied and afterwards included in the fortification; that Daniel Boone, the founder of Boonesborough, on the morning of the day (April 1, 1775), when his company reached the spot which became Boonesborough, and while yet 15 miles distant from it, wrote his earliest preserved letter, and therein told Col. Henderson that he had "sent a man to all the lower companies" [of whose location at the Boiling Spring or Harrod's Station, and at Harrodsburg, he was advised by Samuel Tate's son and otherwise] "in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter creek"—evidently designing that as the base of defensive military operations and strength; that on April 8, 1775, when only 4 miles from Cumberland Gap, Col. Richard Henderson, the great man of the Proprietary government of Transylvania, met 40 persons returning from Kentucky, and on April 16th (on Skaggs' creek in the S. E. part of now Rockcastle county, about 45 miles S. of Boonesborough and 55 miles S. E. of Harrodsburg), met James McAfee and 18 others just from the latter place,

* Capt. John Cowan's Journal, at Harrodsburg, from March 6, to Sept. 17, 1777. Also, Gen. George Rogers Clark's Diary, at Harrodsburg, from Dec. 25, 1776, to Nov. 22, 1777.

† Sketch of Jacob Sandusky or Sodousky, American Pioneer, ii, 326.

‡ Gen. James Ray so informed the historian, Mann Butler, in 1833.

‖ Boone's Autobiography in Filson's Kentucky.

and persuaded Robert, Samuel, and William McAfee to turn back and go with him to Boonesborough—of course, learning from them all about the settlements at Harrodsburg and the Boiling Spring; that his own Journal shows that on May 8, 1775, Col. Henderson learned from Capt. James Harrod and Col. Thomas Slaughter that "Harrod, accompanied by about 50 men, had come down that spring from Monongahela, and got possession some time *before* we (Henderson & Co.) got here."

But it is unnecessary to further recapitulate, or bring out in detail other evidence tending to the same point, viz: That the FIRST SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY WAS AT HARRODSBURG, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1774.

The First Fort in Kentucky was erected on the 26th of March, 1775, about five miles S. of Richmond, in Madison county. From a survey made by Maj. John Crooke, surveyor of Madison county, on May 28, 1817, it appears that TWETTY'S FORT—or THE LITTLE FORT, as it was indiscriminately called—was just 132 feet over one mile from Estill's old station, in an almost S. W. direction, on a small branch of Taylor's fork of Silver creek, and about a quarter of a mile W. of Hart's fork of Silver creek. There does not exist any *printed* mention of it; and yet from the depositions, on file in suits in the Fayette and Madison circuit court clerk's offices, of Wm. Bush, Jesse Oldham, Rev. Jos. Proctor, Peter Hacket, and 10 others, we gather—that it was built on the day after the before-day Indian attack upon Boone and Twetty's company, upon ground a little elevated, and about 100 yards from Boone's trace, in square form, about 6 or 7 feet high, of logs, and probably was not roofed; that it was built as a protection against further surprises or sudden attacks of Indians; that the wounded bodies of Capt. Wm. Twetty and his ward, young Felix Walker, were removed into it, and nursed there; that on the second day after it was built, being the third day after he was wounded, Capt. Twetty (who was shot in both knees) died, and was buried within the fort; that the company (see names in part, vol. i, page 18), remained there to nurse young Walker—all of them until April 1st, and part of them probably until April 6th, when he was well enough to be removed to Boonesborough. It was never finished nor again occupied as a fort, but was allowed to rot down and disappear. For six years it was one of the best known and most notorious localities in what is now Madison county; but its very existence and its name were entirely unknown to the present generation (1873).

The Second Fort in Kentucky, and the first station fortified, was that at Boonesborough. Col. Daniel Boone and his company arrived there April 1, 1775, and immediately built a couple of cabins having some of the advantages of a stockade fort, near A, the Elm tree, in the Plat of Boonesborough, *ante*, and which Col. Henderson, on his arrival with his company, April 20, 1775, dignified with the name of *Fort Boone*. Next day, Col. Henderson (see his Journal, page 499, *ante*), "after some perplexity, resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick near the river bank, which would place us at a distance of 300 yards from the other fort—and yet the only place where we could be of any service to Boone's men, or *vice versa*." Here the main fort was built, and, according to the generally received account, completed on the 14th of June, 1775—which, if true in date, must have been suddenly hastened.* The accompanying rough engraving of the still rougher fort is filled out from an original plan of it, preserved in the handwriting of Col. Henderson. The dimensions of the enclosure are not stated; but, allowing 20 feet as the average size of the cabins and the intervening openings, would make the fort about 260 feet long and 180 feet wide.

The First Families which reached Boonesborough were—Daniel Boone's on Sept. 8, 1775; Col. Richard Callaway's, Wm. Poague's, and John Barney Stagner's, in company, about Sept. 26, 1775. Wm. Poague, in Feb., 1776, removed his family to the fort at Harrodsburg; and Barney Stagner his,

* Col. Henderson's letter to the Proprietors, dated Boonesborough, June 12, 1775, says that when his company reached that 'place on April 20th, "a small fort only wanted two or three days work to make it tolerably safe. . . . . and unto this day remains unfinished."

within a year and a half—for on June 22, 1777, he was killed by Indians and beheaded, half a mile from Harrodsburg.* But few families were brought to Madison county before 1779–80.

The First Marriage in Kentucky was in the fort at Boonesborough, August 7, 1776, by Squire Boone; Samuel Henderson, younger brother of Col. Richard Henderson, to Elizabeth (generally called Betsey) Callaway, eldest daughter of Col. Richard Callaway. Their first child, Fanny, was born in the fort, May 29, 1777—the first white child of parents married in Kentucky, and the 5th white child born in the state.† This was the Betsey Callaway who, with her younger sister Fanny, and Jemima Boone, were captured by Indians on July 14, 1776, and rescued two days after (see below).

The Stations in now Madison county were: *Boonesborough*, established April 1, 1775. *Estill's*, 3¾ miles S. E. of Richmond, on the turnpike to Big Hill and Cumberland Gap; settled by Capt. James Estill, Thos. Warren, Rev. Joseph Proctor, and others, in Feb. and March, 1780; it was sometimes called Estill's *old* station, to distinguish it from the *new* one of the same name, started by James and Samuel Estill about 2 miles distant, S. E., and 5 miles from Richmond, which now belongs to Jonathan T. Estill. *George Boone's* (a brother of Daniel and Squire Boone, who moved to Shelby county about 1810), 2½ miles N. W. of Richmond, near the turnpike to Lexington, on farm of Smith Collins. *Hoy's*, on W. side of Lexington turnpike, 6 miles N. W. of Richmond, and about 400 yards S. W of Foxtown (where James Hendricks now lives); settled in spring of 1781, by Wm. Hoy, who died in March, 1790. *Irvine's*, in Tate's creek bottom, 2 miles W. of Richmond; settled in the fall of 1781, by Capt. Christopher Irvine and Col. William Irvine. *Grubbs'* on Tate's creek, about 2 miles W. of Hoy's station; settled in 1781 by Higgason Grubbs—who settled another station, some years later, further east, on Muddy creek. *Tanner's*, 80 yards nearly E. of Gen. Cassius M. Clay's residence, 6 miles N. W. of Richmond; settled by John Tanner in 1781, but station not built until 1782. *Bell's*, ½ mile from Paint Lick creek, and 3 miles E. of the railroad station of that name, enclosed one of the most remarkable springs in the world—about 12 feet square at top, and 100 feet deep, boiling up pure, cold, and fresh, and flowing off in a large and constant stream. *White Oak Spring*, sometimes called *Hart's* station, 1 mile above Boonesborough, in same Kentucky river bottom; settled in 1779, by Capt. Nathaniel Hart and some Dutch families from Pennsylvania. *Warren's*, 1 mile from Estill's station; settled by Thos. Warren. *Crews'*, about 1 mile N. W. of Foxtown, 6 miles N. W. of Richmond, and 1 mile from George Boone's station; on Samuel B. Phelps' farm, near the Lexington turnpike—in a direct line from the Shallow-ford station to Boonesborough, 2 miles from the former and 6 miles from the latter; settled by David Crews in the fall of 1781. *Shallow-ford* station, at the Shallow-ford prong of Tate's creek, on the farm of Isaac Shelby Irvine, 4½ miles N. of W. of Richmond, 3 miles from Foxtown, and 8 miles from Boonesborough; the second station established in the county; was on the main road from Boonesborough to Harrodsburg; signs of the old fort are still seen. A straight quarter-race track, probably the first in the state, passed within less than 200 yards; at the end of the track, just as he was pulling up his horse, a rider was shot by an Indian in the edge of the cane-brake. The remains of a water-mill and small still-house are yet seen, about ¾ths of a mile N., which are claimed to have been the first erected in the state. Col. Robert Rodes, one of the noblest of the pioneers, lived on Shallow-ford creek, in 1783. (John) *Woods'* station was on Dreaming creek. (Stephen) *Hancock's* was close by Irvine's station, also on Tate's creek. *Estill's* station was sometimes, by a failure to catch the right sound of the name, called *Aston's* or *Ashton's*—as Daniel Boone and others at first called Capt. James

* Papers of the Poague family, examined by the author. Also, statements of Wm. Poague's daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, in 1806 and 1845. R.H.C.

† On the authority of Alfred Henderson, their son, 80 years old, living at High Hill, Texas—in letter to the author from Rev. R. H. Rivers, D.D., Louisville, dated Feb. 10, 1873. Besides this son, two daughters are still living—Mrs. Sally Rivers, Louisville, aged 86, and Mrs. Estill, Talladega, Ala., aged 82.

Estill. *Warner's* station was on Otter creek. The locality of *Scrivener's* station is unknown.

The following stations were in adjoining counties, close to the Madison county line. *Adams'*, *Kennedy's*, and *Paint Lick*, in Garrard county; (Daniel) *Boone's* station, E. of where Athens is, and *McGee's*, on Cooper's run, both in Fayette county, the former 4 and the latter 3 miles from Boonesborough; *Marble creek* station, 7 or 8 miles from Boonesborough.*

The First Court House of Madison county was at Milford (now known as the mythical "Old Town"), 4 or 4½ miles S. W. of Richmond. It was established by act of the Virginia legislature, in 1789. The same act of the Kentucky legislature which directed the removal of the county seat to the new town of Richmond, authorized the county court of quarter sessions—then composed of Thomas Clay, his brother Green Clay, and Robert Rodes—to meet at Milford in April, and adjourn to John Miller's new stable in Richmond. A bitter feeling of opposition to the removal was manifested in the S. W. part of the county—not even allayed by the fact that a commission fairly assessed all individual damages caused by the removal, nearly $2,000 in the aggregate, which were promptly paid by the friends of the removal. A *coup d'état*, worthy of the then great Napoleon or his since illustrious nephew, was planned and executed. To avoid a difficulty with old Tom Kennedy, who did nothing by halves, the judges, and sheriff (Archibald Woods), met in the court house at Milford at *sunrise*, made proclamation as provided in the legislative act, and at once adjourned court to the stable in Richmond. Two hours later, about 9½ A.M., the quiet residents of the dead capitol "snuffed the battle from afar," and alarm ruled the hour. Tom Kennedy (oldest of a noteworthy set of pioneer brothers)—John (who was killed by Indians at Cumberland Gap, when returning to Kentucky in 1780 or 1781), Joseph, David, and Andrew—at the head of about 300 excited men, armed with canes and clubs, rode up to the door of the old stone court house, and swore the judges should not open and adjourn court that day. He called on Sam Estill, the landlord of the village tavern, for whiskey for the crowd, and repeated his threat. Estill nonplussed him by the assurance that the court had been held and the records removed, several hours ago. Dave Kennedy, the bully—a man of remarkable physical development, whom few would have the hardihood to encounter—then offered to "whip any body who was in favor of the removal." At last, Wm. Kerley was found, who consented to "fight him in the stray pen, if nobody would interfere." Dave, cried out in homely phrase, "it's a wedding." Kerley objecting that his hair was too long, they both had their hair trimmed, and then well *greased*. Kerley soon got his antagonist down, straddled him, and kept on knocking him on the head and jerking his arms against the sharp rocks in the rough natural floor of the stray pen. Blood flowed, and the fight grew more earnest, but Kennedy scorned to acknowledge defeat. With a lockjaw grip he seized Kerley's left forefinger with his teeth, but Kerley tore the bone out, leaving the mouthful of flesh. Hugh Ross, his brother-in-law and second, stooped down with his mouth close to Kennedy's, and hallooed "enough," and thus ended the bloody set-to. But this personal defeat only intensified the bitterness of the Paint Lick people. To propitiate them, the new county of Garrard was formed in 1796, and the disaffected were given a county seat at Lancaster, miles nearer home than Richmond.

The County of Madison was organized Aug. 22, 1786, at the house of George Adams. Maj. Geo. Adams, Col. John Snoddy, Capt. Christopher Irvine, Capt. David Gass, James Barnet, John Bowles [the misspelled and mispronounced name, for many years, of the father of Chief Justice John Boyle], James Thompson, Archibald Woods, Nicholas George, and Joseph Kennedy, *gentlemen*, were the first justices and held the first court. Col. Wm. Irvine was elected the first clerk, and Joseph Kennedy the first sheriff.

The next term of court was held at the house of David Gass, Oct. 24, 1786; "Ordered, That the south end of this house [Gass' residence] be appointed the public jail of this county until the next court."

* Most of the above was obtained from depositions, and explained by old residents.

Feb. 27, 1787—"Ordered, That the court house be erected at the place near where Capt. Gass' path leaves the great road, near Taylor's fork of Silver creek." Also—"Ordered, That Geo. Adams, *gentleman*, be appointed and desired to purchase record books for the use of the clerk's and surveyor's offices, and that he procure the same *on credit* if in his power." Madison county was once not so wealthy as at present.

The First Cabin in Madison county, outside of the fort at Boonesborough, or its vicinity, was built by Squire Boone, Daniel's younger brother, in 1775—near his "Stockfield" tract of 1,000 acres on Silver creek. But while fixing to remove his family, he sold out and left.

The First Store in Kentucky was at Boonesborough, where Henderson & Co. sold goods in April, 1775—so say both the historian, Mann Butler,* and the late Nathaniel Hart, Sen., of Woodford county, Ky. The extent of its business and variety of its stock of goods, is not known. Lead was charged at 16⅔ cents and powder at $2.66⅔ per pound, while ordinary labor was only credited at 33⅓ cents per day, and 50 cents per day for "ranging, hunting, or working on roads."

The Number of Settlers in Kentucky, in May, 1775, all within 50 miles of Boonesborough, was computed by a close observer—at least as far back as 1833, when many of them were still living, with whom he may have consulted—at fully 300; and that they had about 230 acres under cultivation in corn†—of which latter, probably not over one-third was within the present boundaries of Madison county.

The Earliest Crops in Madison county.—In 1775, *corn* was raised by Col. Richard Callaway, Capt. Wm. Cocke, George, Robert, and Wm. McAfee, Wm. and Samuel Barton, Wm. Cooper, John Farrow, Capt. Nathaniel Hart, Thos. Johnston, Jesse Oldham, and Page Portwood—as proved by depositions, examined by the author, in the courts of Fayette, Madison, and Lincoln counties, and by the records of the Land office of Kentucky. Doubtless, more than 20 other men raised corn in Madison county, the same season. In 1776, many others raised corn, for the first time. John Boyle, in Oct., 1775, planted some *peach stones*, near where Estill's station was established, 4⅓ years later. In 1776, Richard Hinde raised *watermelons* and *muskmelons*, near the Kentucky river, 6 miles above Boonesborough. In 1775, James Bridges had a *turnip patch*, of ¼th of an acre, on Muddy creek, 5 miles above its mouth. In the fall of 1779, emigrants along Boone's trace helped themselves to *pumpkins* from Capt. Nathaniel Hart's field, 1 mile from Estill's station. They scattered the seed along a branch of Otter creek, which came up, and in consequence it was named Pumpkin Run.

The First Mill mentioned in the records of Madison county was Ham's, in Oct., 1786; several were built earlier.

The First Minister authorized to solemnize the rights of matrimony was Rev. James How, Dec. 26, 1786.

The First Dutch Emigration to Kentucky, in a group or company, was in 1781, to White Oak Spring Station, on the Kentucky river, 1 mile above Boonesborough—Henry Banta, Sen., Henry Banta, Jr., Abraham and John Banta; Samuel, Peter, Daniel, Henry, and Albert Duryee; Peter Cosart or Cozad, Fred. Ripperdan, and John Fleuty.

The First Hewed Log House in Madison county was built by Gen. Green Clay, at the present home of his son, Gen. Cassius M. Clay. That was replaced in 1799, by a brick house, covered with honey-locust shingles!

The First School in Madison county, so far as is now known, was taught in Boonesborough fort in 1779, by Joseph Doniphan, when 22 years old, grandfather of the late Chancellor and ex-Judge Joseph Doniphan, of Augusta, Ky., and father of Gen. Alex. W. Doniphan, now of St. Louis, Mo. His school averaged 17 scholars during that summer. He came out in 1778 and returned in 1780 to Stafford county, Va.; remaining there until 1792, when he removed to Mason county, Ky. While a justice of the peace in Virginia, in 1787, Gen. George Washington was several times a litigant before him, suing for small sums, as high as £31. The small docket containing the record of

* Butler's History of Kentucky, page 31. † Same, page 30.

these suits is still preserved by a grandson, Wm. D. Frazee, Indianopolis, Indiana.

The Original Roll and Muster of Scouts in the service of the United States, ordered by Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, of Ky., on the frontiers of Madison county, from May 1, 1792, to Aug. 22, 1792, embraces 6 names—Alex. Bayless, Wm. Crawford, David Kincaid, Jos. Logsdon, Jacob Miller, and Wm. Moore—and 648 days service. It was sent to the author, April 13, 1873, by the venerable Dr. Alex. Miller, still living, in his 90th year, and a citizen of Richmond since 1806. He was personally acquainted with many of the spies and early settlers. His father-in-law, Col. James Barnett, was one of the first magistrates in Madison county in Aug., 1786, and in charge of the spies in 1784–85; he had been a captain in the Revolutionary war, in the Virginia line on continental establishment, and was colonel of one of three regiments under Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark on his last expedition against the Indians, which proved abortive; he died on Silver creek, in 1835, aged 86.

More Springs.—One mile s. of Berea are the Slate Lick springs, of fine white sulphur water; and three miles beyond Kingston, the Red Lick springs, black sulphur and chalybeate.

A Cave, near the Lancaster or Silver creek turnpike, runs through the hill for half a mile.

An old Bear Wallow, so named by Daniel Boone, is at Harris' station, on the railroad, 3 miles s. of Richmond. The pond is still there, and its water, probably slightly salt, is as much sought by stock and domestic animals, as formerly by wild animals.

Boone's Gap is in the Big Hill, 2 miles s. of Berea.

Several Mounds of remarkable size are in Madison county: Two on Caldwell Campbell's farm, 8 miles s. w. of Richmond, on the turnpike to Lancaster—one small, the other about 225 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 35 feet high. Four miles w. of this, below Kirksville, is a mound about 40 feet high, 225 feet long, and 45 feet wide.

Ancient Cemetery.—A Race of Giants.—On five high points on Caldwell Campbell's farm, and on a farm of Samuel and Walker Mason, adjoining, 8 miles s. w. of Richmond, are burial grounds of pre-historic inhabitants—in all embracing fully 3 acres. On one part, about 1½ acres, have been discovered the skeletons of giants—the femur, tibia, skull, and inferior maxillary bones so large, when compared with the size of the late John Campbell (himself 6 feet 4 inches high), as to indicate a race 7 to 8 feet high. John Campbell slipped the inferior jaw-bone of one entirely over his own, flesh and all. Samuel Campbell, the father of these brothers, emigrated to Madison county in 1778.

Records on Stone.—The most remarkable records of incidents in early Kentucky history on *stone*—as distinguished from those on *trees* in Allen, Barren, Greenup, Lawrence, Warren, and other counties, preserved elsewhere in this history—are still plainly visible in the S. E. portion of Madison county.

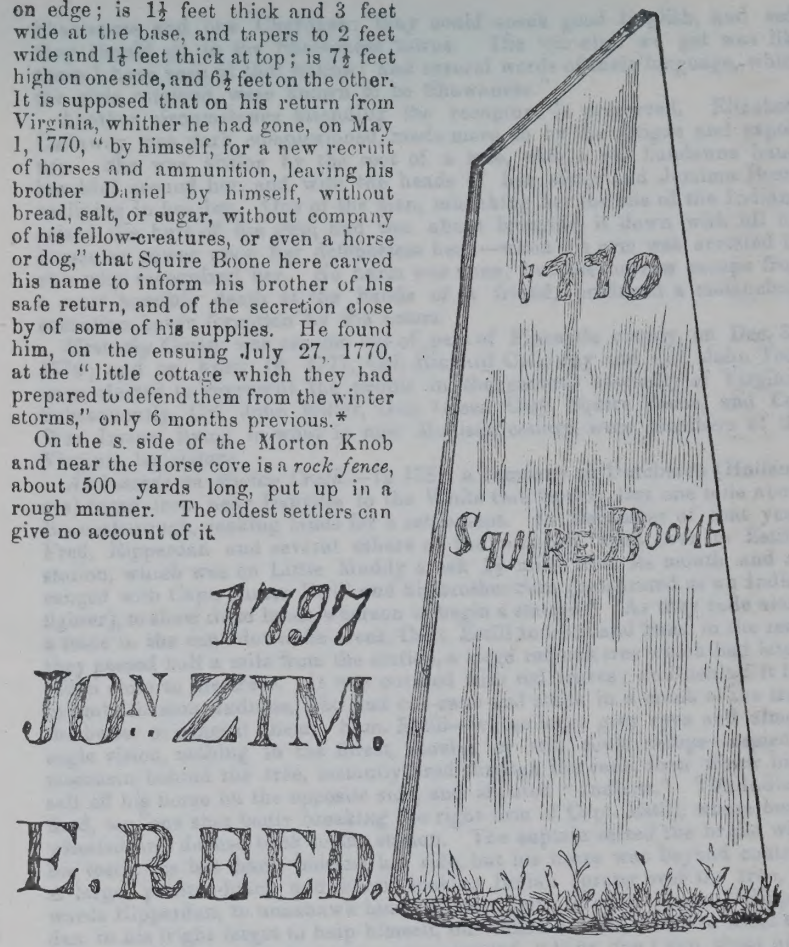
No. 1 is a *fac simile* of the engraving on a hard limestone rock, on the top of Joe's Lick Knob, 10 miles S. E. of Richmond; supposed to have been done by a Mr. Russell, who about 1797 cut the stone for the residence of Gen. Green Clay, 6 miles N. W. of Richmond, on the Lexington turnpike.* The letters are 1½ inches long, somewhat rough, but evidently done with good tools, and the work of a mechanic. Of the first name, Jon. Zim, nothing is known. E. Reed was shot by an Indian and killed, while perched in the fork of a hickory tree, on the top of Joe's Lick Knob, watching a "deer lick" in a cove below the rock, within rifle shot of the hunter; the tree, which is now cut down, stood so close to the engraved rock that a hunter could step from the rock into the fork.

No. 2, a *fac simile* of what is universally known in that region as "Boone's Rock," stands in a rich cove called the Horse cove, about 1½ miles S. E. of the Little Blue Lick, and near the Morton Knob. The rock, of limestone, stands

* The original sketches and drawings were made for this work, April 13, 1873, by Albert S. Cornelison and T. B. Ballard, and forwarded by P. P. Ballard, deputy U. S assessor at Richmond, Ky.

on edge; is 1½ feet thick and 3 feet wide at the base, and tapers to 2 feet wide and 1½ feet thick at top; is 7½ feet high on one side, and 6½ feet on the other. It is supposed that on his return from Virginia, whither he had gone, on May 1, 1770, "by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving his brother Daniel by himself, without bread, salt, or sugar, without company of his fellow-creatures, or even a horse or dog," that Squire Boone here carved his name to inform his brother of his safe return, and of the secretion close by of some of his supplies. He found him, on the ensuing July 27, 1770, at the "little cottage which they had prepared to defend them from the winter storms," only 6 months previous.*

On the s. side of the Morton Knob and near the Horse cove is a *rock fence*, about 500 yards long, put up in a rough manner. The oldest settlers can give no account of it.



An Old Indian Town House—so called by the earliest settlers—but really a town house of a pre-historic race, not of the modern Indians, was quite distinct in 1776 and for some years after; but in 1806 had almost disappeared, from frequent ploughings and the rains. It was on the Walnut Meadow fork of Paint Lick creek, in the S. E. part of Madison county, and by actual measurement of the county surveyor, was just 3¾ miles N. of W. from where Boone's trace crossed Silver creek. John Kennedy built a good cabin on the spot, before April, 1776—in which year he cleared 16 acres of ground, raised a fine corn crop, and built a fence around part of it.

Boone's Trace—which, by contract with Col. Richard Henderson, was distinctly marked and sometimes cleared out by wood-choppers, all the way from Cumberland Gap to Boonesborough, and was the first road ever made by contract or otherwise in Kentucky—followed from the fort up the Kentucky river one mile, nearly to the mouth of Otter creek, thence up the creek; at half a mile from the mouth, crossed to the E. side; crossed again to the W. side, when 3¼ miles from the fort; struck the mouth of the East fork of Otter, at 4⅝ miles distance from the fort; thence followed up Otter creek,

* "The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, formerly a Hunter; containing a Narrative of the Wars of Kentucky."

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diverging westward toward Richmond; then turned again directly s., crossing Pumpkin run, to Estill's station; thence, a general s. course, to *Boone's Gap* in the Big Hill; thence over on to the Roundstone lick fork of Rockcastle river, etc.—as per Maj. Crooke's survey, Dec., 1812.

Hancock Taylor, who, in 1769, with his brother, Col. Richard Taylor (father of President Zachary Taylor), and others, descended the Ohio river to New Orleans, came to Kentucky as a surveyor in 1773, again in 1774, and was subsequently killed by Indians, in same year, and buried on Taylor's fork of Silver creek in Madison county (which was named after him). In 1803, his brother Richard came to search out his grave; and Robert Rodes (with his son William, now Col. Wm.) went with and showed him the grave—about 1¾ miles, a little w. of s., from the court house in Richmond; they marked the grave by a pile of stones, and by a headstone carved by a boy in the neighborhood.

A Kentucky Romance of 1776.—Late in the afternoon of Sunday, July 14, 1776, Elizabeth (or Betsey) Callaway and her sister Fanny, daughters of Col. Richard Callaway, and Jemima Boone, daughter of Col. Daniel Boone—the first named 16 and grown, the others 14 years old—were captured by Indians, while playing in a canoe in the Kentucky river, a short distance below the fort at Boonesborough. Though they screamed with fright, Elizabeth Callaway fought with her paddle, gashing an Indian's head to the bone. They were dragged from the canoe and hurried off, they knew not whither or to what fate. Colonels Boone and Callaway were absent at the time; but soon returned, and at the head of two parties, one on foot, the other on horseback, began the pursuit. With Boone, on foot, were Samuel Henderson, Capt. John Holder, and Flanders Callaway (the lovers of the three girls, in the order named, and who afterwards married them), Maj. Wm. B. Smith, Col. John Floyd, Bartlett Searcy, and Catlett Jones—who pressed forward in the direction the Indians had gone, but five miles before dark overtook them. By light, next morning, and all day Monday, they pushed on rapidly, some 30 miles further, fearful the girls would grow weary of traveling and be put to death by the savages. The pursuers took fresh courage from every new sign of life in the carefully concealed, but as carefully followed trail—for Elizabeth broke twigs off bushes, and when her life was threatened, by upraised tomahawk, for this, tore small pieces of her dress and dropped along the way. She also impressed the print of her shoes, where the ground would allow it—having refused to exchange her shoes, and put on moccasins, which the younger girls in their alarm submitted to. The Indians compelled them to walk apart, as *they* did, in the thick cane, and to wade up or down the little branches of water, so as to hide their trail and deceive as to their number.

On Tuesday morning, the whites renewed the chase; and after going about five miles, saw a gentle smoke curling in the air, over where the Indians had kindled a fire to cook some buffalo veal for breakfast. Says Col. Floyd, in a letter written the next Sunday,* "Our study had been how to get the prisoners, without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all of us rushed on them—by which they were prevented from carrying any thing away except one shot gun without any ammunition. Col. Boone and myself had each a pretty fair shot, as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun; mine had none. The place was covered with thick cane; and being so much elated on recovering the three poor little heart-broken girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off almost naked; some without their moccasins, and none of them with so much as a knife or tomahawk. [Only one of them ever reached home; the others died from wounds or famine.] After the girls came to themselves sufficiently to speak, they told us there were five Indians—four

* Letter to Col. Wm. Preston, July 21, 1776. Also, letter of Dr. Matthew L. Dixon, son-in-law of said Elizabeth Callaway, afterwards Mrs. Samuel Henderson, July, 1835. Also, deposition of Peter Scholl, nephew-in-law of Daniel Boone, April, 1818, and other depositions.

Shawanese and one Cherokee; they could speak good English, and said they should go to the Shawanese towns. The war-club we got was like those I have seen of that nation; and several words of their language, which the girls retained, were known to be Shawanese."

Another circumstance attending the recapture is preserved. Elizabeth Callaway was dark complexioned, made more so by the fatigue and exposure. She was sitting by the root of a tree, with a red bandanna handkerchief around her, and with the heads of her sister and Jemima Boone reclining in her lap. One of the men, mistaking her for one of the Indians, raised the butt of his gun, and was about bringing it down with all his muscular power upon her defenceless head—when his arm was arrested by one who recognized her. No harm was done; but the narrow escape from a most horrible death at the hands of a friend, produced a melancholy sensation never forgotten by the actors.

Kentucky County was created out of part of Fincastle county, on Dec. 31, 1776; and on April 18, 1777, Col. Richard Callaway and Col. John Todd were elected to represent the people in the general assembly of Virginia. Subsequently, Col. John Miller, Gen. Green Clay, Squire Boone, and Col. Wm. Irvine, living in what is now Madison county, were members of the Virginia legislature.

Ambuscade on Muddy Creek.—In 1781, a company of Dutchmen (Hollanders) came from near Danville to the White Oak Spring fort one mile above Boonesborough, seeking lands for a settlement. In December of that year, Fred. Ripperdan and several others of the number, went over to Estill's station, which was on Little Muddy creek 1½ miles from its mouth, and arranged with Capt. James Estill and his brother Sam. (celebrated as an Indian fighter), to show them lands whereon to begin a station.* As they rode along a trace in the cane down the creek, Capt. Estill in front and Sam. in the rear, they passed half a mile from the station, a large red oak tree which had lately fallen close to the trace. It was covered with red leaves; and behind it lay in ambush some Indians, who had cut cane and stuck in a crack of the tree, the better to conceal them. Sam. Estill—whose large grey eyes and almost eagle vision, nothing in the forest, moving or still, could escape—espied a moccasin behind the tree, instantly fired through the cane, then threw himself off his horse on the opposite side, and shouted "Indians." The Indians fired, too, one shot badly breaking the right arm of Capt. Estill, whose horse wheeled and dashed back to the station. The captain seized the bridle with his teeth, his left hand holding his rifle, but his horse was beyond control. A large, painted-black and horrid-looking Indian sprang over the tree, towards Ripperdan, to tomahawk him—all now being off their horses. Ripperdan in his fright forgot to help himself, but called to Sam. Estill to shoot the Indian. Estill, whose gun was empty, retorted, "Why don t you shoot him, d—n you! your gun s loaded." Thus re-assured by Estill's voice and command, Ripperdan jerked his gun to his shoulder and fired, the muzzle almost touching his enemy's breast. The Indian let his gun fall, clutched a sapling for support, uttered a loud noise like a bear, and fell dead. The remaining Indians, fearing a still more bloody welcome, retreated through the cane. Sam. Estill was indignant that his brother should have deserted his companions and sought safety in flight; but on returning to the station and finding him dangerously wounded, and his horse the cause of the undesigned desertion, his brother stood with him in higher favor than ever. The broken arm cost the captain his life; confining him to the station most of the winter, and at the battle of "Little Mountain," near Mountsterling, on March 22, 1782, giving way suddenly, while engaged in a life and death struggle with a powerful Indian—who buried his tomahawk in the head of his noble victim. (See description of the battle, under Montgomery county.)

The First Settler of Richmond was Col. John Miller (father of Wm. Malcolm Miller), who, in the fall of 1784, settled with his family in the cane near Main street, on Lot No. 4, and afterwards built the first hewed-log house in the

* Depositions of Jos. Ellison and Thos. Warren, Aug., 1809, and Nich. Proctor May, 1811. Also, letter to the author from Col. James W. Caperton, April, 1873.

place. The town was laid off, "beginning at Col. John Miller's fodder-stack." It was to his new stable the county seat was removed from Milford or Old Town (see *ante*). Col. Miller was born in Albemarle co., Va., Jan. 1, 1750, and died Sept. 8, 1808—aged 58; he was a captain in the Revolutionary war, and at the siege of Yorktown; was a representative from Madison county in the Virginia, and one of the earliest afterwards in the Kentucky, legislature.

Attacks on Boonesborough.—From the very first, the fort was the central object of Indian hostilities. On April 4, 1775, only three days after it was begun, the Indians killed one of the whites. On Dec. 24, of the same year, they killed one man and wounded another; thus seeming determined to persecute the whites for erecting the fortification.

The infant settlement at Boonsborough continued to be incessantly harassed by flying parties of Indians; and on the 15th of April, 1777, a simultaneous attack was made on Boonsborough, Harrodsburg and Logan's fort, by a large body of the enemy. But being destitute of artillery and scaling ladders, they could produce no decided impression on the fort. Some loss was sustained by Boonsborough in men, and the corn and cattle of the settlers were partially destroyed, but the Indians suffered so severely as to retire with precipitation.

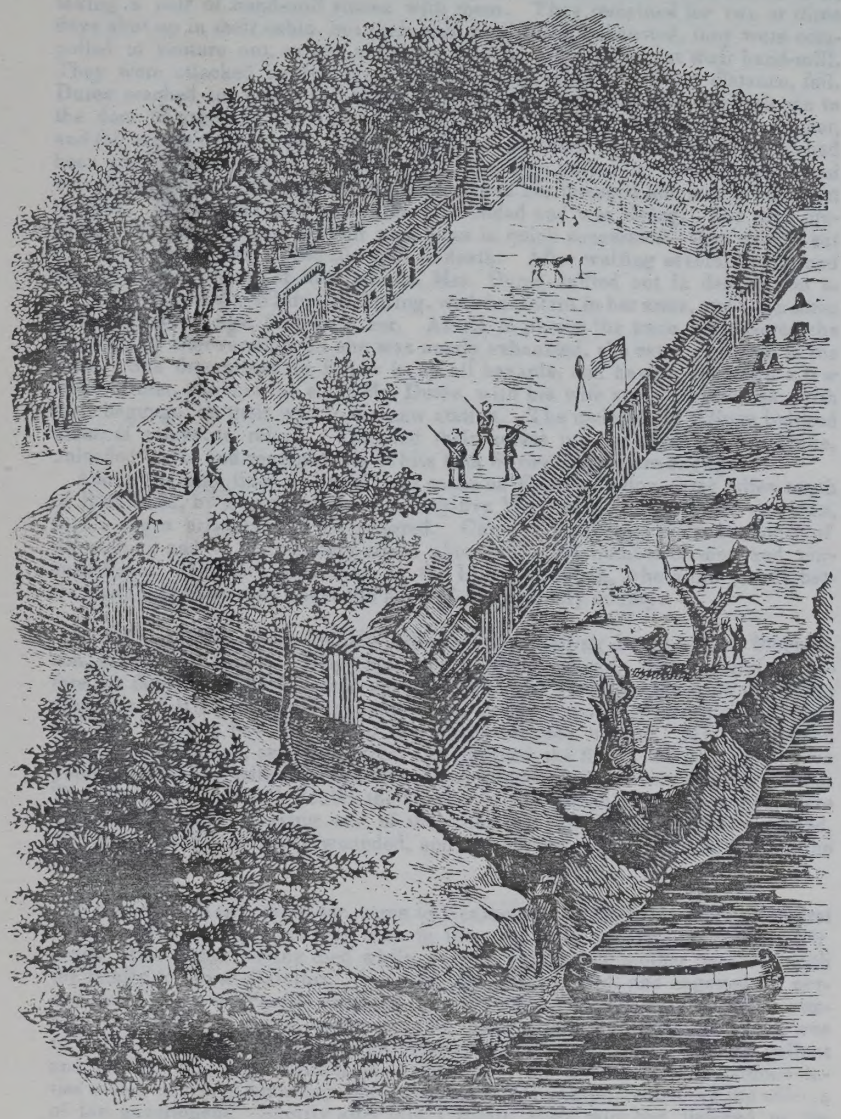
On the 4th of July, following, Boonsborough was again attacked by about two hundred warriors. The onset was furious, but unsuccessful. The garrison, less than half the number of the assailants, made a vigorous defence, repulsing the enemy with the loss of seven warriors known to have been killed, and a number wounded. The whites had one man killed and two wounded. The siege lasted two days and nights, when the Indians made a rapid and tumultuous retreat.

Some time in June, 1777, Major Smith with a party of seventeen men, followed a small body of Indians from Boonsborough to the Ohio river, where they arrived in time to kill one of the number, the remainder having crossed over. As they returned, about twenty miles from the Ohio, they discovered another party of about thirty Indians, lying in the grass, but were themselves unobserved. They immediately dismounted, tied their horses and left nine men to take care of them. Smith, with the remaining eight men of his party, crept forward until they came near the Indians. At this moment, one of the Indians passed partly by Smith, in the direction of the horses. He was shot by one of the whites. He gave a loud yell, and his friends supposing he had killed some wild animal, burst out in a noisy fit of laughter. At that instant Smith and his party fired on the savages and rushed upon them. The fire was returned, but the Indians speedily gave way and fled. Smith had one man (John Martin) wounded.*

On the 8th of August, 1778, a third attack was made upon Boonsborough. The enemy appeared in great force—the Indians, numbering at least five hundred warriors, armed and painted in their usual manner, were conducted by Canadian officers, well skilled in the usages of modern warfare. As soon as they were arrayed in front of the fort, the British colors were displayed, and an officer, with a flag, was sent to demand the surrender of the fort, with a promise of quarter and good treatment in case of compliance, and threatening "the hatchet," in case of a storm. Boone requested two days for consideration, which in defiance of all experience and common sense, was granted. This interval, as usual, was employed in preparation for an obstinate resistance. The cattle were brought into the fort, the horses secured, and all things made ready against the commencement of hostilities.

Boone then assembled the garrison, and represented to them the condition in which they stood. They had not now to deal with Indians alone, but with British officers, skilled in the art of attacking fortified places, sufficiently numerous to *direct*, but too few to *restrain* their savage allies. If they surrendered, their lives might and probably would be saved; but they would suffer much inconvenience, and *must* lose all their property. If they resisted and were overcome, the life of every man, woman and child would be sacrificed. The hour was now come in which they were to determine what was to be done. If they were inclined to surrender, he would announce it to the officer; if they were resolved to maintain the fort, he would share their fate, whether in life or death. He had scarcely finished, when every man arose and in a firm tone announced his determination to defend the fort to the last.

* Notes on Kentucky.



OLD FORT AT BOONESBOROUGH, 1775.

Boone then appeared at the gate of the fortress and communicated to Captain Duquesne the resolution of his men. Disappointment and chagrin were strongly painted upon the face of the Canadian at this answer; but endeavoring to disguise his feelings, he declared that Governor Hamilton had ordered him not to injure the men if it could be avoided, and that if nine of the principal inhabitants of the fort would come out into the plain and treat with them, they would instantly depart without farther hostility. The insidious nature of this proposal was evident, for they could converse very well from where they then stood, and going out would only place the officers of the fort at the mercy of the savages, not to mention the absurdity of supposing that this army of warriors would "*treat*," but upon such terms as pleased them, and no terms were likely do so short of a total abandonment of the country.

Notwithstanding these obvious objections, the word "treat," sounded so pleasantly in the ears of the besieged, that they agreed at once to the proposal, and Boone himself, attended by eight of his men, went out and mingled with the savages, who crowded around them in great numbers, and with countenances of deep anxiety. The treaty then commenced and was soon concluded. What the terms were, we are not informed, nor is it a matter of the least importance, as the whole was a stupid and shallow artifice. This was soon made manifest. Duquesne, after many, very many pretty periods about the "*bienfaisance et humanite*" which should accompany the warfare of civilized beings, at length informed Boone, that it was a custom with the Indians, upon the conclusion of a treaty with the whites, for two warriors to take hold of the hand of each white man.

Boone thought this rather a singular custom, but there was no time to dispute about etiquette, particularly, as he could not be more in their power than he already was; so he signified his willingness to conform to the Indian mode of cementing friendship. Instantly, two warriors approached each white man, with the word "brother" upon their lips, but a very different expression in their eyes, and grappling him with violence, attempted to bear him off. They probably (unless totally infatuated) expected such a consummation, and all at the same moment sprung from their enemies and ran to the fort, under a heavy fire, which fortunately only wounded one man.

The attack instantly commenced by a heavy fire against the picketing, and was returned with fatal accuracy by the garrison. The Indians quickly sheltered themselves, and the action became more cautious and deliberate. Finding but little effect from the fire of his men, Duquesne next resorted to a more formidable mode of attack. The fort stood on the south bank of the river, within sixty yards of the water. Commencing under the bank, where their operations were concealed from the garrison, they attempted to push a mine into the fort. Their object, however, was fortunately discovered by the quantity of fresh earth which they were compelled to throw into the river, and by which the water became muddy for some distance below. Boone, who had regained his usual sagacity, instantly cut a trench within the fort in such a manner as to intersect the line of their approach, and thus frustrated their design.

The enemy exhausted all the ordinary artifices of Indian warfare, but were steadily repulsed in every effort. Finding their numbers daily thinned by the deliberate but fatal fire of the garrison, and seeing no prospect of final success, they broke up on the ninth day of the siege and returned home. The loss of the garrison was two men killed and four wounded. On the part of the savages, thirty-seven were killed and many wounded, who, as usual, were all carried off. This was the last siege sustained by Boonsborough. The country had increased so rapidly in numbers, and so many other stations lay between Boonsborough and the Ohio, that the savages could not reach it without leaving enemies in the rear.*

Besides Boonsborough, there were several other forts or stations in Madison —among them, Hoy's, Irvine's, Estill's and Hart's, or White Oak stations. The latter station was situated about a mile above Boonsborough, in the same bottom of the river, and was settled in 1779. The settlers were composed principally of families from Pennsylvania—orderly, respectable people, and the men good soldiers. But they were unaccustomed to Indian warfare, and the conse-

* McClung's sketches of Western Adventure

quence was, that, of some ten or twelve men, all were killed but two or three.* During the fall or winter of 1781–2, Peter Duree, the elder, the principal man of the connexion, determined to settle a new fort between Estill's station and the mouth of Muddy creek. Having erected a cabin, his son-in-law, John Bullock and his family, and his son Peter Duree, his wife and two children removed to it, taking a pair of hand-mill stones with them. They remained for two or three days shut up in their cabin, but their corn meal being exhausted, they were compelled to venture out, to cut a hollow tree in order to adjust their hand-mill. They were attacked by Indians—Bullock, after running a short distance, fell. Duree reached the cabin, and threw himself upon the bed. Mrs. Bullock ran to the door to ascertain the fate of her husband—received a shot in the breast, and fell across the door sill. Mrs. Duree, not knowing whether her husband had been shot or had fainted, caught her by the feet, pulled her into the house and barred the door. She grasped a rifle, and told her husband she would help him to fight. He replied that he had been wounded and was dying. She then presented the gun through several port holes in quick succession—then calmly sat by her husband and closed his eyes in death. After waiting several hours, and seeing nothing more of the Indians, Mrs. Duree sallied out in desperation to make her way to the White Oak Spring, with her infant in her arms, and a son three or four years of age, following her. Afraid to pursue the trace, she entered the woods, and after running till she was nearly exhausted, she came at length to the trace. She determined to follow it at all hazards, and having advanced a few miles further, she met the elder Mr. Duree, with his wife and youngest son, with their baggage, on their way to the new station. The melancholy tidings induced them, of course, to return. They led their horses into an adjoining canebrake, unloaded them, and regained the White Oak Spring fort before daylight.

About the same time, an attack was made on Estill's station, three miles south of Richmond, by a party of about twenty-five Wyandots. They killed one man, took a negro prisoner, and disappeared. Captain Estill was the commander of the station, and he immediately raised about an equal number of men and pursued them. He overhauled them at the Little Mountain, where the bloody battle was fought recorded under the head of Montgomery county.

In August, 1792, seven Indians attacked the dwelling house of Mr. Stephenson, in Madison county. They approached the house early in the morning, before the family had risen, forced open the door, and fired into the beds where the members of it lay. Mrs. Stephenson was severely wounded, having her thigh and arm broken; but the rest of the family escaped unhurt. Mr. Stephenson sprang from his bed, seized his rifle, and returned the fire of the savages. Two young men, living with him, came to his assistance, and a severe conflict ensued. The assailants, although double the number of the defenders of the house, were ultimately expelled, having one of their number killed and several wounded. Mr. Stephenson was badly wounded, and one of the young men killed in the contest.

Nathaniel Hart, the elder, came to Kentucky in 1775, being among the first pioneers to the State. He was born in the year 1734, in Hanover county, Virginia. His father having died while he was young, his mother removed with the family to North Carolina. In 1760, Mr. Hart married, and engaged for several years in the mercantile business. In 1770 and 1771, he commanded a company in North Carolina in suppressing an insurrection, the object of which was to shut up the courts of justice and prostrate government itself. For his gallant and spirited behaviour while in the discharge of the arduous and hazardous duties which devolved upon him, he was handsomely complimented by the officers of the government. Shortly after this, Captain Hart, who had listened to the glowing descriptions which Boone gave of the beauty and fertility of the soil of Kentucky, was fired with the idea of forming a permanent settlement in a region presenting so many attractions to the adventurer. Accordingly, through his instrumentality, a company was formed composed of his own and four other families, with Colonel Henderson as its legal head, for the purpose of undertaking

*Letter of Nathaniel Hart, Sen., to Governor Morehead.

the purchase and settlement of the wilderness of Kentucky. As soon as the company was organized, Captain Hart set out alone on a trip to the Cherokee towns, on Holston, to ascertain, by a previous conference with the Indians, whether the purchase could be effected. After a propitious interview, he returned to North Carolina, taking with him a delegation of the Indian chiefs, who remained to escort the company back to the treaty ground, when, on the 17th of March, 1775, they negotiated the purchase of Transylvania from the Indians, and immediately departed for the Kentucky river. From this period Captain Hart spent most of his time in Kentucky, although he did not attempt to bring his family out till the fall of 1779. In August, 1782, as he was carelessly riding out in the vicinity of the fort, he was killed and scalped by a small party of Indians, who made their escape, although warmly pursued by Colonel Boone. His widow survived him about two years. Their descendants all reside in Kentucky.

In the final settlement of the affairs of Henderson & Co., the company allowed Captain Hart two hundred pounds for the extraordinary services rendered and risk incurred by him in the settlement of Kentucky.

Capt. Christopher Irvine, with his younger brother, the late Col. William Irvine, removed to Kentucky in 1778 or 1779, and settled in the present county of Madison, near where the town of Richmond now stands. In 1786, Capt. Irvine raised a company, and joined an expedition under Gen. Logan against the Indians in the northern part of Ohio. While on this expedition, he met his death in rather a singular manner. In a skirmish which took place, an Indian, who had been severely wounded,—a brave and fearless fellow,—made great efforts to effect his escape. Capt. Irvine and a part of his company gave pursuit, and were enabled to trail him by the blood which flowed from his wound, and stained the high grass through which he passed. The Indian discovered his pursuers, and when the foremost approached within rifle shot, he fired and killed him. He retreated again, and in his wounded state, loaded his rifle as he ran. Another of Capt. Irvine's company getting considerably in advance of his companions in the chase, the wounded Indian again turned, shot him dead, and resumed his retreat, reloading his rifle as he fled. The delay produced by the fatal effect of his fire, enabled him to get some distance ahead of his pursuers. Capt. Irvine, after losing two of his men by the fire of the Indian, became very much excited, and, contrary to the earnest advice of his party, determined to lead in the pursuit. He gave chase, and in a few minutes was within a short distance of the Indian, when the latter, with but too fatal an aim, fired a third time, and killed him. One of his men, who was close upon his heels, instantly sprang to the place where the Indian had concealed himself, and found him again loading his rifle! As quick as thought, he struck the Indian to the ground, and beat out his brains with the breech of his gun.

Capt. Irvine was a man of high character and standing—intrepid, energetic, and daring—with a strong and vigorous intellect—popular in the community, and beloved and admired by his pioneer companions. His widow married Gen. Richard Hickman, of Clark county, afterwards lieutenant-governor of Kentucky. *Irvine*, the county seat of Estill county, was named in honor of Capt. C. Irvine, and his brother, Col. William Irvine.

Col. William Irvine came to the county with his brother, and built a station, called *Irvine's Station*, near where Richmond stands. Col. Irvine was in the hard-fought and bloody battle at Little Mountain, known as "*Estill's defeat*," in the year 1782. About the close of the action, while Joseph Proctor, Irvine, and two others, were endeavoring to cover the retreat of the whites, Irvine was severely wounded, by a bullet and two buck shot entering his body a little above the left groin. The Indian who shot him, saw him fall, and, leaving the tree behind which he was sheltered, made a rapid advance with the view of tomahawking and scalping him. Irvine, as he approached, raised and presented his gun, which had just been fired, and was then empty, when the savage rapidly retreated to his tree for protection. Proctor, who was about fifty yards off, seeing the disabled condition of Irvine, called to him to mount, if he could, Capt. Estill's horse, (the owner having been previously killed), and retreat to a given point on

the trace, about three miles distant,—promising him that he would, from tha point, conduct him to his station in Madison. This assurance was given by Proctor under the conviction that, from the severity of Irvine's wounds, combined with the great loss of blood, he would be unable to proceed further on the retreat than the point designated. Irvine determined to follow the advice of Proctor; but the Indian who had wounded him, appeared resolved to baffle all his efforts to make his escape. As Irvine attempted to mount, the Indian would abandon his shelter, and make towards him with his tomahawk, when the former would raise and present his empty gun, and the latter as quickly retreat to his tree. This was repeated four times in succession. On the fifth trial, Irvine succeeded in mounting the horse, and safely reached the place designated by Proctor. Upon his arrival, he was exceedingly faint from loss of blood, but had sufficient presence of mind to diverge from the main trace, and shield himself in a thicket near by. Here he dismounted, and holding on to his horse's bridle, laid himself against a log to die. In a short time, Proctor and his two companions reached the place of rendezvous, and the former, true to his promise, determined to search for Irvine: the latter objected, under the apprehension that the Indians were in close pursuit. Proctor, however, persisted in the search, and, in a few minutes, discovered, through the bushes, the white horse rode by Irvine. He approached cautiously, and with a stealthy step, fearing an Indian ambuscade. Irvine, notwithstanding, caught the sound of his footsteps, and suffered all the horrors of death, under the impression that the footsteps were those of an enemy and not a friend. He was, however, speedily undeceived. Proctor bound up his wounds, and relieving his burning thirst by a supply of water from a contiguous branch, mounted him on horseback, and placing one of the men behind to hold him, safely conveyed him to Bryan 's station, where they arrived on the succeeding day. Col. Irvine suffered severely from his wounds, and did not fully recover his health for several years. The bullet and shot were never extracted, and he carried them with him to his grave. He died in 1820, thirty-eight years after receiving his wound.

Colonel Irvine was a man of estimable character and high standing. When Madison county was established, he was appointed clerk of the quarter session and county courts, and after the quarter session court was abolished, was made clerk of the circuit court. These offices (clerk of the county and circuit courts) he held until his death. While clerk of the former courts, and before the separation of Kentucky, he was elected to the legislature of Virginia—was a member of several conventions held at Danville, preparatory to the introduction of Kentucky into the Union, and was a member from Madison, of the convention which formed the second constitution of Kentucky. He was repeatedly elected an elector of president and vice-president of the United States. No man had a stronger hold upon the affections of the people, and but few have gone to the grave more generally lamented.

Col. John Speed Smith, for forty years one of the leading lawyers and most prominent public men in eastern Kentucky, was a native of Jessamine co, Ky, born ; settled in Richmond when its bar was one of the ablest in the country, with Martin D. Hardin at its head, and rapidly rose to prominence; represented Madison county in the Ky. house of representatives, 1819, '27, '30, '39, '41, and '45, and in the senate, 1846–50; was speaker of the former body, 1827; a representative in congress during Monroe's administration, 1821–23; appointed, by President J. Q. Adams, secretary of legation to the U. S. mission, sent to the South American congress which was to assemble at Tacubaya; appointed, by President Jackson, U. S. attorney for the district of Kentucky; appointed by the Ky. legislature, Jan. 5, 1839, as joint commissioner with Ex-Gov. James T. Morehead, to visit the Ohio legislature, and solicit the passage of laws to prevent evil-disposed persons in that state from enticing away, or assisting in the escape of, slaves from Kentucky, and to provide more efficient means for recapturing fugitive slaves by their masters or agents—which mission was entirely and handsomely successful. In the campaign of 1813, in the war with England and her Indian allies, he served as aid-de-camp to Gen. Harrison, and proved himself a brave and vigilant officer.

A Little Girl dreamed that a ladder was let down from heaven, and she went up on it. Several hours after telling her dream, she and three other children, little boys, went into the valley near the *new* Estill's station (2 miles S E of the *old* Estill's station, and 5 miles from Richmond), after hickory nuts. They were surprised by Indians and captured. The little girl was killed, but the boys were carried off, and afterwards rescued or returned.

Richmond is on the Town fork of Dreaming creek, a branch of Otter creek, just 13 miles from the site of the old fort at Boonesborough, by the meanders of Dreaming and Otter creeks—as surveyed, Dec. 1, 1812, by Maj. John Crooke, surveyor of Madison county. By an air-line, the distance between those points is just 275 yards over 10 miles. The Town fork was so named, "owing to an old Indian town [pre-historic] near where the Court House now stands"—so says the deposition of Archibald Woods, Sen., Aug. 27, 1814.

For biographical sketches of citizens of Madison county, see as follows: Col Daniel Boone, under Boone co.; Squire Boone, under Shelby co.; Col. Richard Callaway, under Calloway co.; Gen. Green Clay, under Clay co.; Capt. James Estill and Rev. Joseph Proctor, under Estill co.; Col. Richard Henderson, under Henderson co.; Gen. Martin D. Hardin, under Washington co.; and Rev. John H. Brown, D.D., under the sketch of the Presbyterian church.

Samuel Estill, a younger brother of Capt. James Estill, and celebrated as an Indian fighter, was born in Virginia, Sept. 10, 1755, came to Boonesborough in the winter of 1778–9, and in the spring of 1781 to his brother's (Estill) station. He lived to be an old man, quite as remarkable for his size as in early life for his active bravery. It took a side of leather to make him a pair of boots. When he joined the Baptist church and was immersed, it required the strength and assistance of 12 men to baptize him, seated in a chair. His weight at death was 412 pounds.

Judge Daniel Breck was born in Topsfield, Mass., Feb. 12, 1788, and died at Richmond, Ky., Feb. 4, 1871—aged 83. His father, Rev. Daniel Breck, was a chaplain in the war of the Revolution, and as such was with Montgomery and Arnold in the assault upon Quebec, and wintered with the army in Canada; was afterwards pastor first in Massachusetts, then in Vermont, and lived to be nearly 100 years of age. The son, after many struggles in obtaining his education, alternately teaching and attending school, graduated in 1812 at Darmouth college, and out of a large and brilliant class was selected to deliver the Philosophical Oration. He came to Richmond, Ky., Dec., 1814, and began the practice of law, rapidly achieving success and fame, as one of the ablest lawyers in the state; was chosen a representative in the Ky. legislature in 1824, '25, '26, '27, and '34—during which he originated the system of internal improvements, the Northern Bank, and other important measures; was appointed to the court of appeals bench, April 7, 1843, retiring in 1849 to run for congress, where he served two years, 1849–51, the intimate friend and counselor there, in the memorable struggle over the Compromise Measures, and through life, of Henry Clay and John J. Crittenden, and enjoying also the confidence and highest regard of Daniel Webster. He is pronounced by the profession one of the profoundest and most learned of the court of appeals bench. His death was noticed in a special message to the legislature, of marked appropriateness and discrimination, by Gov. Stevenson—his last act before retiring from the gubernatorial chair; and in eloquent addresses in the Ky. senate and house of representatives. In private life, he was eminently active and useful; he was exempted from the infirmities of age; his history at length would be a history of Madison county—from his intimate connection with its courts, its schools, its banks, its roads, its politics, and every other interest. He had singular self-reliance, balance, evenness of temper, and tenacity of purpose. In learning and mental discipline, he was equaled by few of the public men of his day; in great practical wisdom and almost unerring judgment, surpassed by none. He was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and died established in its hopes. He was married in

1819 to Miss Jane B. Todd, a daughter of Gen. Levi Todd, of Fayette county, one of the early pioneers of Kentucky, and one of the founders of Lexington in 1779.

Gen. CASSIUS MARCELLUS CLAY, son of Gen. Green Clay, was born in Madison co., Ky., Oct. 19, 1810; a graduate of Yale college, and a lawyer by profession; elected to the Kentucky legislature from his native county, in 1835, and again in 1837; removed to Fayette county, which he represented in the legislature in 1840, but was defeated at the next election on account of his anti-slavery views. In 1844, he canvassed the Northern states and denounced the annexation of Texas as a scheme for the extension of slavery.

In 1845, he established at Lexington a paper, *The True American*, in the interest of the abolition or anti-slavery party. His indiscreet and violent articles aroused the indignation of the community, which in a public meeting resolved on its suppression by forcible means if necessary, and advised Mr. Clay of this action. He returned a defiant answer, armed his office, and declared he would defend it until he perished. Fortunately for both parties he was prostrated by an attack of brain fever, and the people packed up his type and presses and removed them to Cincinnati. On his recovery, he resumed the publication of his paper in that city, and subsequently at Louisville, and circulated it in Kentucky without further molestation.

In 1846, while in command of a company of cavalry in the Mexican war, he was captured and held a prisoner for several months. On his return home he was presented by his fellow citizens with a sword in honor of his services. He continued his labors in the anti-slavery cause, and offered as a candidate for governor in 1851. His canvass of the state was extremely perilous, for the people were deeply incensed against the Abolitionists, but he passed unharmed through the ordeal. He received 3,621 votes, drawn from the Whig party, which defeated their candidate for governor; L. W. Powell, Democrat, being chosen by only 850 majority, while for lieutenant governor John B. Thompson, Whig, had 6,145 majority. In the late civil war, Mr. Clay espoused the Union cause, and was commissioned major general in that service; but pending its acceptance, he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln, in 1862, minister to Russia, where he remained until 1869. Mr. Clay's political views are now what are termed Conservative or Liberal Republican, in contradistinction or opposition to those who are supporters of President Grant's administration.

CHRISTOPHER CARSON, generally known as Kit Carson, the most famous mountaineer, trapper, and guide of the last third of a century, was a native of Madison co., Ky., born on Tate's creek, Dec. 24, 1809, and died at Fort Lynn, Colorado, May 23, 1868—aged 58. Col. Wm. Rodes, of Richmond (still living, 1873), remembers seeing Kit on horseback behind his mother, as his father, Lindsay Carson, and family started on their tour of emigration to the then Far West, now Howard co., Mo. At 17, young Carson joined a hunting expedition, which gave him a taste for wild life on the plains he never could change; he was for 8 years a trapper, for 8 years more hunter for Bent's fort, then guide in the celebrated explorations of Lieutenant (afterwards Republican candidate for U. S. president in 1856, and in the Civil war a major general) John C. Fremont; lieutenant in rifle corps, U. S. army, 1847; U. S. Indian agent in New Mexico, 1853; in the Federal army, during the Civil war, rose to be colonel, then brevet brigadier general; and in 1865 resumed his Indian agency. He was one of the pioneers of the wool trade of California, in 1853 drove across the plains 6,500 sheep—an enterprise of great hazard and immense results. He was remarkable as a judge of Indian character, and for his influence with and control over the Indians; and to the day of his death, was noted for his modesty.

JAMES MADISON, the fourth president of the United States, in honor of whom this county received its name, was born in Port Royal, a town on the south side of the Rappahannock, in Virginia, on March 5, 1751. The house of his

parents, however, was in Orange county, where he always resided. Mr. Madison received the very best education the country afforded, having graduated at Princeton college, during the presidency of the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon. Upon leaving college, he studied law, not, however, with a view of making it a profession. In 1776 he was elected to the legislature of Virginia. At the succeeding county election he was not returned, but when the legislature assembled he was appointed a member of the council of State, which place he held until he was elected to Congress in 1779. Whilst a member of the council of State, he formed an intimate friendship with Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, which was never afterwards interrupted. He continued in Congress from 1780 till the expiration of the allowed term computed from the ratification of the articles of confederation in 1781. During the years 1780–81–82–83, he was a leading, active and influential member of that body, and filled a prominent part in all its deliberations. In the years 1784–85–86, he was elected a delegate to the State legislature. In 1786 he was a member of the convention at Annapolis, which assembled preliminary to the convention at Philadelphia, which formed the federal constitution. Of the latter convention he was also a member, and assisted to frame the present constitution of the United States. He continued a member of the old Congress by re-appointment until its expiration in 1786. On the adoption of the constitution, he was elected to Congress from his district, and continued a member from 1789 till 1797. He was the author of the celebrated resolution against the alien and sedition laws passed by the Virginia legislature in 1798. When Mr. Jefferson was elected president in 1801, he appointed Mr. Madison secretary of state, in which office he continued during the eight years of Jefferson's administration. In 1809, on the retirement of Mr. Jefferson, he was elected president, and administered the government during a period of eight years. At about sixty years of age, he retired from public life, and ever afterwards resided on his estate in Virginia, except about two months, while at Richmond as a member of the convention in 1829, which sat there to remould the constitution of the State. His farm, his books, his friends, and his correspondence, were the sources of his enjoyment and occupation during the twenty years of his retirement. On the 28th of June, 1836, he died, as serene, philosophical and calm in the last moments of his existence as he had been in all the trying occasions of life. When they received intelligence of his death, the Congress of the United States adopted a resolution appointing a public oration to commemorate his life, and selected the Hon. John Q. Adams to deliver it.

[This sketch properly belongs under Monroe county.]

JAMES MONROE, in honor of whom Monroe county was named, was the fifth president of the United States; born in Westmoreland co., Va., April 28, 1758; graduated at William and Mary college, 1776, and immediately entered as a cadet in a corps then organizing under Gen. Mercer; soon after was made lieutenant, and joined the army at York; was in the engagement at Harlaem heights, and at White Plains, and in the retreat of the army through the Jerseys; was with Washington when he crossed the Delaware and made the successful attack on the Hessians at Trenton—where he was wounded in the shoulder; was aid to Lord Sterling, in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth; retired from the army, and entered the office of Thos. Jefferson as a student of law; in 1780, was sent by Mr. Jefferson, then governor, as a commissioner to Gen. DeKalb, to ascertain the strength and prospects of his (the southern) army; was a member of the legislature of Virginia, 1782, '86, '87, 1810; of the continental congress, when only 24 years old, 1782–85, for three years; of the Virginia convention, 1788, which adopted the constitution of the United States, but voted against its adoption; of the U. S. senate, 1790–94; minister to France, 1794–96; governor of Virginia, 1796–99; again sent to France, 1803, by President Jefferson, to act with Mr. Livingston, the resident minister there; was transferred to London, as successor to Mr. King; thence ordered to Spain, but returned to England on the death of Mr. Pitt; spent several years upon his farm in Virginia; was again governor, until he resigned to enter President Madison's cabinet as secretary of state; was president of the United States for eight years, 1817–25; and in retirement until his death, July 4, 1831, aged nearly 73.